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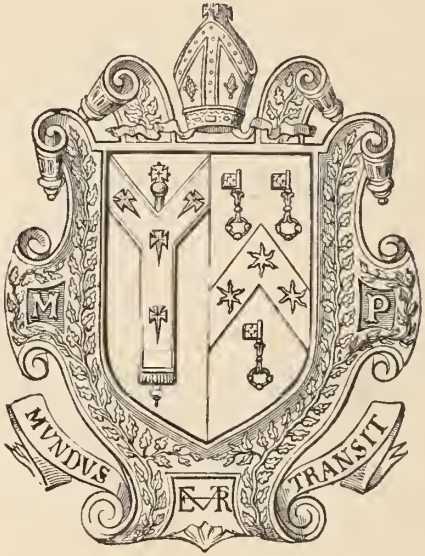
THE WORKS

OF

BISHOP RIDLEY.

The Parker Society.

Instituted A.D. M.DCCC.XL.



For the Publication of the Works of the Fathers and Early Writers of the Reformed English Church.

THE

WORKS

OF

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF LONDON,

MARTYR, 1555.

EDITED FOR

The Parker Society,

BY THE

REV. HENRY CHRISTMAS, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, D.D.,

BISHOP OF LONDON, 1550—1553.

Dr Nicholas Ridley[1] was born in the beginning of the sixteenth century (the exact date is not known), in North-

[1] Ridley. The allusions made by Bp Ridley to his family in his letters, and especially in his "Farewell," where he specifically addresses its several branches, render it desirable to give some account of his relatives and their possessions. The origin of the name may be traced more satisfactorily than that of many others now equally illustrious. It appears to have been Scottish, and originally Riddle, or rather Ryedale, of which Riddle is a corruption; and the Riddles of Glenriddle might have traced their descent to a common stock with the Ridleys of Willymotswick. The Ridleys appear to have had their full share in the disturbances so frequent in the border territory, and in works which treat on Border History occur many instances both of their courage and their importance. Turner speaks of one of Ridley's uncles who was a knight; it is just possible that he may have been the same person with the Richard Ridley of Hardriding, of whom mention is made by Ridpath. A passage in the Border Minstrelsy mentions those branches of the Ridley family located at Willymotswick, Hardriding, Hawden and Waltown; the first of whom was probably the uncle of Nicholas Ridley, and father to the "worshipful cousin of Willowmountswick," addressed by the Bishop in his last farewell. To this passage the editor appends the following note, the information of which he derived, he says, from Mr Surtees. "Willimoteswick" (the etymology of which name is given in a note to Appendix III.), "now called Ridley Hall, is situated at the confluence of the Allon and Tyne, and was the chief seat of the ancient family of Ridley. Walltown, where another branch of the same family was settled, was so called from its situation on the great Roman wall." * * * * "A feud did certainly exist between the Ridleys and the Featherstonehaughs, another border family, and which led on more than one

umberland, not far from the Scottish border. Thus much he states himself; and to this his friend and fellow-collegian, Dr Turner[1], adds, that the place of his birth was Wilmontswick. "His father," says Dr Glocester Ridley, "was the third son of a very ancient family, which had been seated there through a long descent of knights for many generations; the second son was John, father to Dr Lancelot Ridley, and a fourth son was Dr Robert Ridley."

"Descended from this ancient stock, he degenerated not from the virtues of his ancestors, but gave a much greater lustre to his family than he derived from it." His school education he received at Newcastle upon Tyne, from whence he was removed, about A. D. 1518, to Pembroke College in Cambridge, at the expence of his uncle Dr Robert Ridley, then a Fellow of Queens' College.

The following dates of the chief events in Ridley's life are collected from Dr Glocester Ridley and Bp Godwin[2]:

Born in the beginning of the sixteenth century.
Entered at Pembroke College, about ..... A.D. 1518
B. A. 1522
Elected fellow of University College, Oxford, but declined the honour 1524
Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge 1524

one occasion to fatal results, as may be seen by the following extracts from the Inquis. Calend. '24 Oct. 22do Henrici 8vi Inquisitio capt. apud Hautwhistle sup. visum corpus Alex. Featherstone Gen. apud Greenselhaugh, felonice interfecti 21 Oct. per Nicolaum Ridley de Unthanke, Gen.—Hugon. Ridle. Nicolaum Ridle et alios ejusdem nominis.' Nor were the Featherstones without their revenge, for in 36to Henrici 8vi we have, 'Ut legatio Nicolai Featherston ac Thomæ Nyxon, &c. pro homicidio Willmi. Ridle de Morale.' These extracts are here given as much with a view to shew the various modes of spelling the name, Ridley—Riddle—Ridle—Rydley—of which the first only is now preserved, as to throw some light on the allusions in the Bishop's letters."

[1] See Appendix III.

[2] Ridley's Life of Dr N. Ridley, London, 1763, 4to. F. Godwini de Præsulibus Angliæ Commentarius (p. 192) with Dr Richardson's Notes. Cantabrigiæ, 1743. fol.

M.A. 1525
College agent for Tylney, Soham, and Saxthorpe Churches 1526
Went to Paris, and studied at the Sorbonne 1527
Returned to England. Junr. Treasurer of Pembroke College ... 1530
Senior Proctor 1533
Signed the decree against the Pope's Supremacy at Cambridge ... 1534
B. D. 1534
Chaplain to the University and Public Orator 1534
Chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer 1537
Vicar of Herne 1538
Master of Pembroke College, and D. D. 1540
Chaplain to Henry VIII. 1540
Prebendary of Canterbury 1541
Prebendary of Westminster 1545
Vicar of Soham 1547
Bishop of Rochester 1547
Commissioner to visit Cambridge 1549
Bishop of London 1550
Nominated Bishop of Durham 1553
Excepted from the Amnesty by Mary 1553
Committed to the Tower, July 1553
Sent to Oxford to dispute 1554
Martyrdom, October 16 1555

From the preceding list of dates it will be seen that the college career of Bishop Ridley was highly honourable and equally successful; and so great were the hopes excited by his learning and abilities, that a fellowship at University College, Oxford, was offered for his acceptance. This honour he thought it best to decline, preferring the prospects which his own University presented him, and was accordingly the next year elected a Fellow of his own College, to the Mastership of which he subsequently attained. Impelled by that thirst for knowledge which ever distinguished him, he went in the year 1527 to Paris, for the purpose of studying at the Sorbonne; and here doubtless he availed himself of every advantage presented to him by that then celebrated seat of learning. But the University of Paris was already in its

decline, and Ridley has given a picture by no means favourable of the then prevailing style of disputation among its members. His absence was not long, for we find him, in 1530, Junior Treasurer of Pembroke Hall. He signed, as Proctor, in 1534, the Decree against the Pope's supremacy, and continued steadily rising in his University career. In 1538 he appeared in a new capacity, that of a parish-priest. The Vicarage of Herne, in Kent, was bestowed upon him; and with the intense but well-directed zeal which formed so essential a part of his character, he applied himself to the duties of his new situation. So successful was he as a preacher, that he attracted to his church numbers who had hitherto altogether omitted the duty of attendance on the services of the church; nor was he less attentive to the other parts of his parochial duty.

His subsequent history will be given in the words of Fox, which, brief as they are, form nearly all that can be known of this great and good man's life.

The "Life and Story" of Bishop Ridley preserved in the "Acts and Monuments", is valuable and interesting, more especially as it gives many particulars of his domestic life, which are preserved in no other author. The martyrologist, after some introductory remarks, proceeds thus: "Among many other worthy and sundry histories and notable acts of such as of late days have been turmoiled, murdered, and martyred for the true gospel of Christ in queen Mary's reign, the tragical story and life of Dr Ridley I thought good to commend to chronicle, and leave to perpetual memory: beseeching thee, gentle reader, with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the same in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so ghostly inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the book of life, with the blessed saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned

amongst the glorious company of martyrs. First descending of a stock right worshipful, he was born in Northumberlandshire, who being a child, learned his grammar with great dexterity in Newcastle, and was removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular aptness he was called to higher functions and offices of the University, by degree attaining thereunto, and was called to be head of Pembroke Hall, and there made Doctor of Divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to Paris, who at his return was made Chaplain to King Henry the Eighth, and promoted afterwards by him to the Bishoprick of Rochester: and so from thence translated to the See and Bishoprick of London in King Edward's days[1].

Nicholas Ridley born in Northumberland.

Nicholas Ridley learned at Newcastle.

Nicholas Ridley Master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge.

Nicholas Ridley made Doctor of Divinity.

Nicholas Ridley King Henry's Chaplain.

Nicholas Ridley made bishop of Rochester.

Nicholas Ridley made bishop of London.

"In which calling and offices he so travelled and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome doctrine of Christ, that never good child was more singularly loved of his dear parents, than he of his flock and diocese. Every holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business, to whose sermons the people resorted, swarming about him like bees, and coveting the sweet flowers and wholesome juice of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but shewed the same by his

The fruitful diligence of Bishop Ridley in preaching God's word.

[1] Ridley was not promoted to the see of Rochester till after the king's death, but it would appear that he was *intended* to be placed in that see as soon as the death of Longland, the aged bishop of Lincoln, made a vacancy for the translation of Holbeach, then bishop of Rochester. Gloucester Ridley remarks, that the historians of the latter part of Henry's reign and the beginning of that of Edward VI. speak of him as having been appointed to preach the funeral sermon of Francis I. at St Paul's, calling him elect of Rochester; but that even in *this* particular they are inaccurate, as this sermon was preached on the 19th of June, 1547, and the congé d'élire was not issued to the chapter of Rochester till the first of August following, Henry VIII. having died on the 28th of January in the same year. Gloucest. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, pp. 184, 210, 211.

life, as a glittering lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind, in such pure order and chastity of life (declining from evil desires and concupiscences), that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one iota thereof.

Bishop Ridley of great memory and reading.

"Besides this, he was passingly well learned, his memory was great and he of such reading withal, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this our age, as can testify as well divers his notable works, pithy sermons, and sundry his disputations in both the Universities, as also his very adversaries, all which will say no less themselves.

"Besides all this, wise he was of counsel, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obstinate Papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of Doctor Heath, late Archbishop of York, being prisoner with him in King Edward's time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was such a prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and ghostly a man, that England may justly rue the loss of so worthy a treasure. And thus hitherto concerning these public matters.

Bishop Ridley comely of proportion and complexion.

"Now will I speak something further particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, but straightways forgetting all injuries and offences done against him.

The fair conditions of Bishop Ridley, tender to his kindred, yet not otherwise than truth and right required.

He was very kind and natural to his kinsfolk, and yet not bearing with them anything otherwise than right would require, giving them always for a general rule, yea to his own brother and sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing at his hand, but should be as strangers and aliens unto him, and they to be his brother or sister, which used honesty and a godly trade of life.

"He using all kinds of ways to mortify himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation: for duly every morning, so soon as his apparel was done upon him, he went forthwith to his bedchamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour, which being done, immediately he went to his study, (if there came no other business to interrupt him,) where he continued till ten of the clock, and then came to common prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done he went to dinner, where he used little talk, except otherwise occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet, and wise, and sometimes merry, as cause required.

Bishop Ridley a great mortifier of himself.

The order of his study and diet.

"The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking or playing at the chess: that done, he returned to his study, and there would continue, except suitors or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the clock at night, and then would come to common prayer, as in the forenoon, which being finished he went to supper, behaving himself there as at his dinner before; after supper recreating himself in playing at chess the space of an hour, he would then return again to his study; continuing there till eleven of the o'clock at night, which was his common hour to go to bed, then saying his prayers upon his knees, as in the morning when he rose. Being at his manor of Fulham, as divers times he used to be, he read daily a lecture to his family at the common prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going throughout all the Epistles of St Paul, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal chapters, but especially the thirteenth chapter of the Acts; reading also unto his household oftentimes the one hundred and first Psalm, being marvellous careful over his family, that they might be a spectacle of all virtue and honesty to

His order after supper.

The careful diligence of Bishop Ridley in instructing his family.

other. To be short, as he was godly and virtuous himself, so nothing but virtue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

"Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly pity in the usage of an old woman called Mistress Bonner, mother to Doctor Bonner, sometime bishop of London: which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of Doctor Ridley, as the unworthy immanity and ungrateful disposition again of Doctor Bonner. Bishop Ridley, being at his manor of Fulham, always sent for the said Mistress Bonner, dwelling in an house adjoining to his house, to dinner and supper, with one Mistress Mungey, Bonner's sister, saying, Go for my mother Bonner; who coming, was ever placed in the chair at the table's end, being so gently entreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own body, being never displaced of her seat, although the king's council had been present, saying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were), By your lordships' favour, this place of right and custom is for my mother Bonner. But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness and pitiful pity after at the hands of the said Doctor Bonner, almost the least child that goeth by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more enemy to Ridley than Bonner and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing his gentleness with extreme cruelty. As well appeared by the strait handling of Ridley's own natural sister, and George Shipside her husband, from time to time: whereas the gentleness of the other did suffer Bonner's mother, sister, and other his kindred, not only quietly to enjoy all that which they had of Bonner, but also entertained them in his house, shewing much courtesy and friendship daily unto them: whereas on the other side Bishop Bonner, being

The behaviour of Bishop Ridley to Doctor Bonner's mother.

The courtesy of Ridley, the currishness of Bonner, described and compared together.

Bishop Ridley good and kind to Bonner's mother.

Bonner unkind and churlish to Bishop Ridley's sister, and seeketh the death of his brother-in-law.

restored again, would not suffer the brother and natural sister of Bishop Ridley, and other his friends, not only not to enjoy that which they had by the said their brother Bishop Ridley, but also currishly, without all order of law or honesty, by extort power wrested from them all the livings they had.

"And yet being not therewith satisfied, he sought all the means he could to work the death of the aforesaid Shipside, saying that he would make twelve godfathers to go upon him; which had been brought to pass indeed, at what time he was prisoner at Oxford, had not God otherwise wrought his deliverance by means of Doctor Heath, bishop then of Worcester. *Teste Georgio Shipsidio.*

"Whereby all good indifferent readers notoriously have to understand, what great diversity was in the disposition of these two natures. Whereof as the one excelled in mercy and pity, so the other again as much or more excelled in churlish ingratitude and despiteful disdain. But of this matter enough.

"Now concerning God's vocation, how Doctor Ridley was first called to the savouring and favouring of Christ and his gospel, partly by his disputation before, and other his treatises, it may appear, that the first occasion of his conversion was by reading of Bertram's book of the Sacrament, whom also the conference with Bishop Cranmer and with Peter Martyr did not a little confirm in that behalf. Who now by the grace of God, being throughly won and brought to the true way, as he was before blind and zealous in his old ignorance, so was he as constant and faithful in the right knowledge which the Lord had opened unto him, (as well appeared by his preachings and doings during all the time of king Edward,) and so long did much good, while authority of extern power might defend and hold up the peace of the church and proceedings of the gospel.* But

Bishop Ridley first converted by Bertram's Books.

Bishop Ridley one of the first in trouble after the death of King Edward.

after that it pleased so the heavenly will of the Lord our God to bereave us of our stay, and to call from us King Edward that precious Prince, as the whole state of the Church of England was left desolate and open to the enemies' hand; so this Bishop Ridley, after the coming in of Queen Mary[1], eftsoon and with the first was laid hands upon

[1] Ridley while Bishop of London had visited the (then) Princess Mary, and offered to preach before her. This interview seems to have created in Mary's mind a dislike to Ridley. An account of it has been preserved by Fox, in the following words:

About the eighth of September, 1552, Dr Ridley, then bishop of London, lying at his house at Hadham in Herts, went to visit the Lady Mary, then lying at Hunsden two miles off, and was gently entertained of Sir Thomas Wharton and other her officers, till it was almost eleven of the clock, about which time the said Lady Mary came forth into her chamber of presence, and then the said bishop there saluted her Grace, and said that he was come to do this duty to her Grace; then she thanked him for his pains, and for a quarter of an hour talked with him very pleasantly, and said that she knew him in the court when he was chaplain to her father, and could well remember a sermon that he made before King Henry her father at the marriage of my Lady Clinton that now is to Sir Anthony Browne, &c. and so dismissed him to dine with her officers. After the dinner was done, the bishop being called for by the said Lady Mary, resorted again to her Grace, between whom this communication was: first the bishop beginneth in manner as followeth. "Madam, I came not only to do my duty to see your Grace, but also to offer myself to preach before you on Sunday next, if it will please you to hear me."

At this her countenance changed, and after silence for a space, she answered thus: "My Lord, as for this last matter, I pray you make the answer to it yourself."

Ridley.—"Madam, considering mine office and calling, I am bound to make your Grace this offer to preach before you."

Mary.—"Well, I pray you, make the answer, as I have said, to this matter yourself, for you know the answer well enough; but if there be no remedy, but I must make you answer, this shall be your answer, the door of the parish church adjoining shall be open for you, if you come, and ye may preach if you list, but neither I nor any of mine shall hear you."

Ridley.—"Madam, I trust you will not refuse God's word."

Mary.—"I cannot tell what ye call God's word—that is not God's word now, that was God's word in my father's days."

Ridley.—"God's word is one at all times, but hath been better understood and practised in some ages than in other."

and committed to prison, as before hath sufficiently been expressed: first in the Tower, then after translated from thence with the Archbishop of Canterbury and Master Latimer to Oxford, was with them inclosed in the common gaol and prison of Bocardo, while at length being dissevered from them, he was committed to custody in the house of one Irish, where he remained till the last day of his death and martyrdom, which was from the year of our Lord, 1554, till the year 1555, and 16th day of October."

Bishop Ridley in the tower.

Bishop Ridley removed to the prison of Bocardo in Oxford.

Mary.—"You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my father's days that now you do; and as for your new books, I thank God, I never read any of them, I never did nor ever will do."

And after many bitter words against the form of religion then established, and against the government of the realm, and the laws made in the young years of her brother, which she said she was not bound to obey till her brother came to perfect age, and then she said she would obey them; she asked the bishop whether he were one of of the council? He answered, "No." "You might well enough," said she, "as the council goeth now-a-days." And so she concluded with these words: "My lord, for your gentleness to come and see me I thank you, but for your offering to preach before me I thank you never a whit."

Then the said bishop was brought by Sir Thomas Wharton to the place where they had dined, and was desired to drink, and after he had drunk, he paused awhile, looking very sadly, and suddenly brake out into these words,—"Surely I have done amiss." "Why so?" quoth Sir Thomas Wharton. "For I have drunk," said he, "in that place where God's word offered hath been refused, whereas if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." These words were by the said bishop spoken with such a vehemency, that some of the hearers afterward confessed their hair to stand upright on their heads. This done, the said bishop departed, and so returned to his house. Testified by a certain reverend personage yet alive, being then the bishop's chaplain.

[2] Bishop Ridley appears to have had forebodings of the kind of death by which he should depart this world. Humphrey, in his "Life of Bishop Jewell," records the following anecdote:

Similiter et Dr Ridlaeus, tametsi indignante in tempestate jactatus, suos jam territos cohortans, "Bono," inquit "animo estote, et remis incumbite: hæc cymba fert episcopum, quem non mergi sed comburi oportet." P. 258, 9, A.D. 1573.

His character is sufficiently depicted in his works: they indicate a mind of the very highest order, both as to power and acuteness, and where he fairly entered into a subject he left but little for after writers to touch upon. In matters of controversy his immense patristic learning gave him a decided advantage over all his antagonists, and the general idea of his importance to the cause of the Reformation may be estimated from the words of one of his most distinguished adversaries: "Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer leaneth to Ridley, and Ridley leaneth to his own singular wit."

The quaint lines wherein Quarles gives the character of Ridley may not be unacceptable to the reader:

> Read, in the progress of this blessed story,
> Rome's cursed cruelty and Ridley's glory:
> Rome's siren's song; but Ridley's careless ear
> Was deaf: they charm'd, but Ridley would not hear.
> Rome sung preferment, but brave Ridley's tongue
> Condemned that false preferment which Rome sung.
> Rome whispered death; but Ridley, (whose great gain
> Was godliness) he waved it with disdain.
> Rome threatened durance, but great Ridley's mind
> Was too, too strong for threats or chains to bind.
> Rome thundered death, but Ridley's dauntless eye
> Star'd in death's face, and scorn'd death standing by.
> In spite of Rome for England's faith he stood,
> And in the flames he sealed it with his blood.

Bishop Ridley complied with the apostolic maxim, "Let your moderation be known unto all men." The share which he took in the arrangement of the Book of Common Prayer, and other ecclesiastical formularies, enables us to judge with some accuracy as to his correct views of church-government. As a bishop, both at Rochester and in the more important see of London, his conduct was beyond all praise; his judgment and his activity were alike called into exercise, and were but too painfully contrasted with those of his prede-

cessor and successor[1]. The account of his martrydom will be found after that of his last examination at Oxford. The lists of his works have been various, that by Bishop Tanner, given in the Bibliotheca Brittanico-Hibernica, is the most complete. It is as follows:

I. Treatise concerning Images not to be set up nor worshipped in churches. Pr. First the words of the comm.—Fox, p. 2128.

[1] A remarkable instance of the beneficial effect of Ridley's counsels is to be seen in the foundation of three institutions in the reign of Edward VI., and which in point of date may be called the first fruits of the Reformation. Both in the council chamber and the pulpit did this eminent prelate resist the sacrilegious spirit of his day; and though the young King was but partially able to resist the tide of corruption, he yet founded, at the suggestion of Ridley, no less than sixteen grammar-schools, and designed, had his life been spared, to erect twelve colleges for the education of youth. Shortly before his death he sent for the bishop, and thanking him for a sermon in which he strongly pressed the duty of providing for the poverty and ignorance of our fellow-men, added; "I took myself to be especially touched by your speech, as well in regard of the abilities God hath given me, as in regard of the example which from me he will require; for as in the kingdom I am next under God, so must I most nearly approach him in goodness and mercy; for as our miseries stand most in need of aid from him, so are we the greatest debtors—debtors to all that are miserable, and shall be the greatest accountants of our dispensation therein; and therefore, my lord, as you have given me, I thank you, this general exhortation, so direct me (I pray you) by what particular actions I may this way best discharge my duty." The bishop, who was not prepared for such a request, begged time to consider, and to consult with those who were more conversant with the condition of the poor. Having taken the advice of the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London, he shortly returned to the King, representing that there appeared to be three different classes of poor. Some were poor by impotency of nature, as young fatherless children, old decrepit persons, idiots, cripples, and such like, these required to be educated and maintained; for them accordingly the King gave up the Grey Friars' Church, near Newgate Market, now called Christ's Hospital. Other he observed were poor by faculty, as wounded soldiers, diseased and sick persons who required to be cured and relieved, for their use the King gave St Bartholomew's near Smithfield; the third sort were poor by idleness or unthriftyness, as vagabonds, loiterers, &c. who should be chastised and reduced to good order; for these the King appointed his house at Bridewell, the ancient mansion of many English Kings.

II. Answers to certain Queries concerning the abuses of the Mass. Pr. No man can take unto himself anything. MS. Bibl. Bodl. NE. B. 2. 7. et Burnet Hist. Reform. tom. ii. app. p. 123.

III. Brief Declaration of the Lord's Supper. Pr. Many things confound.—1555 et 1586, 8vo. et Oxon. 1688, 4to. Latine per Guliel. Whyttyngham Genev. 1556, h. t. "de cœna dominica assertionem e carcere scriptam." Pr. Cum duæ res sint quæ mihi. Latina autem versio in principio unam aut alteram sententiam habet quæ non est in originali. Libro huic respondit Alban Longdale, S. T. Professor e coll. D. Johan. Cantabr. in "confutatione Catholica Nic. Ridley de Eucharistia." Par. 1556, 4to.

IV. Certain Godly and Comfortable Conferences between him and Mr Hugh Latimer during the time of their Imprisonment. Pr. A bishop ought to be unrepr.—London, 1555, 1556, 8vo. et Oxon. 1688, 4to. Et in partibus transmarinis, 1556, 12mo. Editioni Londinensi additur, [1]A Treatise against the Error of Transubstantiation. Et iterum cum præfatione Henrici Wharton, Lond. 1688, 4to. In MS. Bodl. NE. B. 2. 7. Extat conferentia una contra Missam. Pr. All worldly respects put apart.—Et in Fox. 1 edit. p. 1285, extat altera cum Antonio quædam. Pr. All men do much marvell.

V. A Friendly Farewell written during his Imprisonment at Oxford unto all his true lovers a little before his Death. Pr. partis 1. At the name of Jesus Christ let.—Pr. partis 2. Farewell, my dearly beloved brethren.—Lond. 1558. Extant apud Fox, p. 1770, 1776.

VI. A Piteous Lamentation of the Miserable State of the Church of England, in the time of the late Revolt from the Gospel. Pr. Alas, what misery is.—Lond. 1566, 8vo. Extat in Fox, p. 1778. [2]A Comparison between the Com-

[1] Same as No. III.

[2] Same as No. VI.

fortable Doctrine of the Gospel and the Traditions of the Popish Religion. Ibid.

VII. An Account of a Disputation held at Oxford, A. D. 1554. Pr. I never yet sithens I was born.—Prodit Latine cura Gilb. Ironside. Oxon. 1688, 4to.

VIII. The Way of Peace among all Protestants, being a Letter sent by him to Bishop Hooper, with Observations upon it.—Lond. 1688, 4to.

[3] A Letter of Reconciliation written to Bishop Hooper.—Lond. by Samuel Johnson, 1689, 4to.

IX. De Abominationibus Sedis Romanæ et Pontificum Romanorum.—Strype in Vita Cranmeri, p. 343.

X. Annotationes in Tonstalli libros de Transubstantiatione. Ibid.

[4] Collectanea ex Evangeliis et D. Paulo, tribus doctoribus Ecclesiæ Græcæ, sc. Origene, Chrysostomo et Theodoreto, et tribus Ecclesiæ Latinæ, sc. Tertulliano, Augustino et Gelasio de verbis Institutionis Cœnæ Dominicæ figurative intelligendis. Ibid.

XI. Tres positiones de sacrificio missæ expiatorio. Ibid. (same as VII, but in Latin).

XII. Epistolas ad Fratres in diversis carceribus. Ibid.

XIII. De Electione et Prædestinatione. Ibid. p. 350. Vide Literas Martyr. in Bibl. Emman. Cant. fol. 70.

XIV. Judicium ejus de epistolis decretalibus, sc. Clementis, Anacleti, Luciani et Pontiani, et aliorum vetustissimorum pontificum. Pr. Ego censeo sane esse supposititias. MSS. Bibl. Emman. Cant. l. c. finit ita: Hæc esse respondenda censeo Bradfordo meo ad suam Quæstionem de auctoritate harum epistolarum.

XV. Annotationes in duas Watsoni conciones quadrigesimales coram regina. MSS. ibidem.

XVI. Certain Matters wherein Stephen Gardiner dif-

[3] Same as No. VIII. [4] Same as No. III.

fereth from others of the Papists, and from himself, as touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Pr. Other say that the body.—Fox, 1 Ed. p. 1384.

[1]Answer to M. Ant. Constantius. Ibid. p. 1503.

XVII. Articles to be Enquired of in the Visitation of the Diocese of London, 1550. Concil. M. Brit. et Hib. tom. iv. p. 60. seq.

XVIII. Injunctions given at the Visitation of the Diocese of London, 1550. Burnet Hist. Reform. tom. ii. App. n. 52.

XIX. His Letter to the Preachers within the Diocese of London, setting out the Sins of that time. Ibid. n. 58.

XX. His Letter to the Protector concerning the Visitation of the University of Cambridge. Ibid. n. 59.

XXI. Diverse Letters. Strype in Vita Grindall, 19. Id. in Vita Cranmer, Ap. lxxxvi. Id. in Vita Parker, 29. Fox, 1464, 1504, 1724. MSS. Epist. Martyr. in Bibl. Emm. Coll. Cant. MSS. C. C. C. C. Miscell. i. 401[2].

[1] Same as No. IV.

[2] Of these, the works numbered I. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. XI. XII. XIV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI. have been preserved, and are given in this Edition; those numbered IX. X. XIII. and XV. have unhappily perished.

A BRIEF DECLARATION

OF

THE LORD'S SUPPER,

OR

A TREATISE

AGAINST THE

ERROR OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION,

WRITTEN BY

NICOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON,

DURING HIS IMPRISONMENT,

A.D. 1555.

A BRIEF DECLARACION

Of the Lordes Supper, written by the singular learned man, and most constaunt martir of Jesus Christ: Nicholas Rydley Bishop of London, prisoner in Oxforde, a little before he suffered deathe for the true testimonye of Christ.

Roma. 8.

For thy sake are we killed all daye long, and are compted as shepe appointed to be slayne. Nevertheless in all these things we overcome through him that loved us.

Anno 1555.

TO THE READER.

Understand, good reader, that this great clerk and blessed martyr Bishop Nicholas Ridley sought not (by setting forth this notable godly piece of learned work) the vain glory of the world, nor temporal friendship of men for his present advancement, much less he hunted hereby for Bishoprics and benefices, as all his adversaries (the enemies of Christ's truth and ordinance) the papists commonly do: but, having consideration of the great charge of souls committed unto him, and of the account thereof which the justice of God would require at his hands, intending therewithal to be found blameless in the great day of the Lord, seeing he was put apart to defend the gospel; he not only forsook lands, goods, world, friends, and himself withal, and testified the truth specified in this book by his learned mouth, in the presence of the world, but also (to leave a sure monument and love-token unto his flock) he hath registered it by his own pen in this form ensuing, and sealed it up with his blood. Forasmuch, then, as he hath approved himself no vain disputer, no weathercock, no hypocrite; seeing he hath willingly given his life for the truth; and inasmuch also as his love and most constant Christian conscience speaketh freely unto thee, gentle reader, I beseech thee, for Christ's sake and thine own, lend him thine indifferent heart and patient hearing.

PROPERTY OF PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

A TREATISE

AGAINST THE

ERROR OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION,

MADE BY THE

REVEREND FATHER

NICOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON,

IN THE TIME OF HIS IMPRISONMENT.

Many things confound the weak memory: a few places well weighed and perceived lighten the understanding. Truth is there to be searched, where it is certain to be had.

Though God doth speak the truth by man, yet in man's word (which God hath not revealed to be his) a man may doubt without mistrust in God. Christ is the truth of God revealed unto man from heaven by God himself; and therefore in his word the truth is to be found, which is to be embraced of all that be his. Christ biddeth us ask, and we shall have; search, and we shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto us.

Therefore, O heavenly Father, Author and fountain of all truth, the bottomless sea of all true understanding; send down, we beseech thee, thy holy Spirit into our hearts, and lighten our understanding with the beams of thy heavenly grace.

We ask thee this, O merciful Father, not in respect of our deserts, but for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. Thou knowest, O heavenly Father, that the controversy about the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of thy dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ, hath troubled, not of late only, thy church of England, France, Germany, and Italy, but also many years ago. The fault is ours, no doubt, thereof, for we have deserved thy plague. The blessed martyr's prayers.

But, O Lord, be merciful, and relieve our misery with some light of grace. Thou knowest, O Lord, how this wicked world rolleth up and down, and reeleth to and fro, and careth not what thy will is, so it may abide in wealth.

Truth in time of affliction hath few friends.

If truth have wealth, then who are so stout to defend the truth as they? But, if Christ's cross be laid on truth's back, then they vanish away straight, as wax before the fire. But these are not they, O heavenly Father, for whom I make my most moan, but for those seely[1] ones, O Lord, which have a zeal unto thee: those, I mean, which would and wish to know thy will, and yet are letted, holden back, and blinded, by the subtilties of Satan and his ministers, the wickedness of this wretched world, and the sinful lusts and affections of the flesh.

Alas! Lord, thou knowest that we be of ourselves but flesh, wherein there dwelleth nothing that is good. How then is it possible for man without thee, O Lord, to understand thy truth indeed? Can the natural man perceive
1 Cor. ii. the will of God? O Lord, to whom thou givest a zeal for thee, give them also, we beseech thee, the knowledge of thy blessed will. Suffer not them, O Lord, blindly to be led, for to strive against thee, as thou didst those, alas! which crucified thine own dear Son: forgive them, O Lord, for thy dear Son's sake, for they know not what they do. They
John xvi. do think, alas! O Lord, for lack of knowledge, that they do unto thee good service, even when against thee they do most grievously rage. Remember, O Lord, we beseech thee,
Acts vii. for whom thy martyr Stephen did pray, and whom thine holy
Rom. ix. Apostle did so truly and earnestly love, that, for their salvation, he wished himself accursed from thee. Remember, O heavenly Father, the prayer of thy dear Son our Saviour
Luke xxiii. Christ upon the cross, when he said unto thee: "O Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." With this forgiveness, O good Lord, give me, I beseech thee, thy grace, so here briefly to set forth the sayings of thy Son our Saviour Christ, of his Evangelists, and of his Apostles, that, in this aforesaid controversy, the light of thy truth, by the lantern of thy word, may shine upon all them that love thee.

Of the Lord's last supper do speak expressly three of the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke; but none more

[1 Seely—*hodie* silly, the original meaning of the word was happy, fortunate: from that signification it varied through the successive changes inoffensive, weak, or foolish, infirm in body, in which last sense it is even now used in the north of England. It is derived from the Saxon ȝæliȝ, happy. Ed.]

plainly nor more fully declareth the same, than doth St Paul, partly in the tenth, but especially in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle unto the Corinthians. As Matthew and Mark do agree much in form of words, so do likewise Luke and St Paul; but all four, no doubt, as they were all taught in one school, and inspired with one Spirit, so taught they all one truth. God grant us to understand it well. Amen.

Matthew setteth forth Christ's supper thus:

"When even was come, he sat down with the twelve, &c. As they did eat, Jesus took bread, and gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to the disciples, and said: Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them, saying: Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, that is shed for many for the remission of sins. I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine-tree, until that day when I shall drink that new in my Father's kingdom. And when they had said grace, they went out," &c. Matt. xxvi. Matt. xxvi. 26—30.

Now Mark speaketh of it thus:

"And, as they ate, Jesus took bread, blessed, and brake, and gave to them, and said: Take, eat, this is my body. And he took the cup, gave thanks, and gave it to them; and they all drank of it. And he said unto them: This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink that new in the kingdom of God." Mark xiv. Mark xiv. 22—25.

Here Matthew and Mark do agree, not only in the matter, but also almost fully in the form of words, [2]*saying that*, *for these words* in Matthew, "gave thanks," Mark hath one word, "blessed;" which signifieth in this place all one. And, where Matthew saith, "drink ye all of this;" Mark saith, "and they all drank of it." And, where Matthew saith, "of this fruit of the vine;" Mark leaveth out the word "this," and saith, "of the fruit of the vine."

Now let us see likewise what agreement in form of words is between St Luke and St Paul. Luke writeth thus:

"He took bread, gave thanks, brake it, and gave it to Luke xxii.

[2] The words in Italics are not in the editions of this treatise subsequent to 1556. Ed.]

them, saying: This is my body, which is given for you. This do in remembrance of me. Likewise also, when they had supped, he took the cup, saying: This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you."

Luke xxii. 19, 20.

St Paul setteth forth Christ's supper thus:

1 Cor. xi.

"The Lord Jesus, the same night in the which he was betrayed, took bread, and gave thanks, and brake, and said: Take, eat, this is my body, which is broken for you. This do in remembrance of me. After the same manner he took the cup, when supper was done, saying: This cup is the New Testament in my blood. This do, as often as ye shall drink it, in the remembrance of me. For as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death until he come."

1 Cor. xi. 23—25.

Here, where St Luke saith, "which is given;" Paul saith, "which is broken." And as Luke addeth to the words of Paul spoken of the cup, "which is shed for you;" so likewise Paul addeth to the words thereof, "This do, as often as ye shall drink it, in remembrance of me." The rest that followeth in St Paul, both there and in the tenth chapter, pertaineth unto the right use of the Lord's supper.

Thus the Evangelists and St Paul have rehearsed the words and work of Christ, whereby he did institute and ordain this holy sacrament of his body and blood, to be a perpetual remembrance until his coming again of himself (I say), that is, of his body given for us, and of his blood shed for the remission of sins.

But this remembrance, which is thus ordained, as the author thereof is Christ (both God and man), so by the almighty power of God it far passeth all kinds of remembrances that any other man is able to make, either of himself, or of any other thing: for whosoever receiveth this holy sacrament thus ordained in remembrance of Christ, he receiveth therewith either death or life. In this, I trust, we do all agree. For St Paul saith of the godly receivers in the tenth chapter of his First Epistle unto the Corinthians:

1 Cor. x.

"The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the partaking or fellowship of Christ's blood?" And also saith: "The bread which we break (and meaneth at the Lord's table), is it not the partaking or fellowship of Christ's body?"

Now the partaking of Christ's body and of his blood, unto the faithful and godly, is the partaking or fellowship of life and immortality. And again, of the bad and ungodly receivers, St Paul as plainly saith thus: "He that eateth of this bread and drinketh of this cup unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." 1 Cor. xi.

Oh! how necessary then is it, if we love life and would eschew death, to try and examine ourselves before we eat of this bread and drink of this cup! for else, assuredly, he that eateth and drinketh thereof unworthily eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's body; that is, he reverenceth not the Lord's body with the honour that is due unto him.

And that which was said, that with the receipt of the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ is received of every one, good or bad, either life or death; it is not meant, that they which are dead before God may hereby receive life; or the living before God can hereby receive death. For as none is meet to receive natural food, whereby the natural life is nourished, except he be born and live before; so no man can feed (by the receipt of the holy sacrament) of the food of eternal life, except he be regenerated and born of God before: and on the other side, no man here receiveth damnation, which is not dead before.

Thus hitherto, without all doubt, God is my witness, I say, so far as I know, there is no controversy among them that be learned among the church of England, concerning the matter of this sacrament, but all do agree, whether they be new or old; and to speak plain, and as some of them do odiously call each other, whether they be Protestants, Pharisees, Papists, or Gospellers.

And as all do agree hitherto in the aforesaid doctrine, so all do detest, abhor, and condemn the wicked heresy of the Messalians, which otherwise be called Euchites, which said, that the holy sacrament can neither do good nor harm: and do also condemn those wicked Anabaptists, which put no difference between the Lord's table and the Lord's meat, and their own. And because charity would, that we should (if it be possible, and so far as we may with the safeguard of good conscience, and maintenance of the truth)

agree with all men; therefore, methinks, it is not charitably done, to burden any man (either new or old, as they call them) further, than such do declare themselves to dissent from what we are persuaded to be the truth, and pretend thereto to be controversies, whereas none such are in deed; and so to multiply the debate, the which, the more it doth increase, the further it doth depart from the unity that the true Christian should desire.

Charity will belie no man.

And again, this is true that the truth neither needeth, nor will be maintained with lies. It is also a true common proverb, "that it is even sin to lie upon the devil: for though by thy lie thou dost never so much speak against the devil, yet in that thou liest, indeed thou workest the devil's work; thou dost him service, and takest the devil's part."

What it is to lie.

Now, whether then do they godly and charitably, which either by their pen in writing, or by their words in preaching, do bear the simple people in hand, that those which thus do teach and believe, do go about to make the holy sacrament, ordained by Christ himself, a thing no better than a piece of comuon baken bread? or that do say, that such do make the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ nothing else, but a bare sign, or a figure, to represent Christ, none otherwise than the ivy-bush doth represent the wine in a tavern; or as a vile person gorgeously apparelled may represent a king or a prince in a play: alas! let men leave lying and speak the truth every one, not only *to* his neighbour, but also *of* his neighbour, for we are members one of another, saith St Paul.

The Papists do belie the preachers of the Gospel.

Ephes. iv.

The controversy (no doubt), which at this day troubleth the church (wherein any mean[1] learned man, either old or new, doth stand in[2]), is not, whether the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ is no better than a piece of common bread, or no; or whether the Lord's table is no more to be regarded than the table of any earthly man; or whether it is but a bare sign or figure of Christ, and nothing else, or no. For all do grant, that St Paul's words do require that the bread which we break is the partaking of

[1 Moderately learned. Ed.]
[2 Doth stand in—doth agree. Ed.]

the body of Christ: and all also do grant him, that eateth of that bread or drinketh of that cup unworthily, to be guilty of the Lord's death, and to eat and drink his own damnation, because he esteemeth not the Lord's body. All do grant that these words of St Paul (when he saith, "If we eat, it advantageth us nothing;" or, "if we eat not, we want nothing thereby") are not spoken of the Lord's table, but of other common meats. 1 Cor. viii.

Thus then hitherto yet we all agree. But now let us see wherein the dissension doth stand. The understanding of that wherein it chiefly standeth is a step to the true searching forth of the truth. For who can seek well a remedy, if he know not before the disease? Wherein the controversy consisteth.

It is neither to be denied nor dissembled, that in the matter of this sacrament there be divers points, wherein men counted to be learned cannot agree: as, Whether there be any transubstantiation of the bread, or no? Any corporal and carnal presence of Christ's substance, or no? Whether adoration, only due unto God, is to be done unto the sacrament, or no? And whether Christ's body be there offered in deed unto the heavenly Father by the priest, or no? Or whether the evil man receiveth the natural body of Christ, or no? Yet nevertheless, as in a man diseased in divers parts, commonly the original cause of such divers diseases, which is spread abroad in the body, doth come from one chief member, as from the stomach, or from the head; even so, all five aforesaid points do chiefly hang upon this one question, which is, What is the matter of the sacrament, whether it is the natural substance of bread, or the natural substance of Christ's own body? The truth of this question, truly tried out and agreed upon, no doubt will cease the controversy in all the rest. For if it be Christ's own natural body, born of the Virgin; then assuredly (seeing that all learned men in England, so far as I know, both new and old, grant there to be but one substance), then, I say, they must needs grant transubstantiation, that is, a change of the substance of bread into the substance of Christ's body: then also they must grant the carnal and corporal presence of Christ's body: then must the sacrament be adored with the honour due unto Christ himself, for the

unity of the two natures in one person: then, if the priest do offer the sacrament, he doth offer indeed Christ himself; and finally, the murderer, the adulterer, or wicked man, receiving the sacrament, must needs then receive also the natural substance of Christ's own blessed body, both flesh and blood.

Now, on the other side, if, after the truth shall be truly tried out, it be found that the substance of bread is the material substance of the sacrament; although, for the change of the use, office, and dignity of the bread, the bread indeed sacramentally is changed into the body of Christ, as the water in baptism is sacramentally changed into the fountain of regeneration, and yet the material substance thereof remaineth all one, as was before; if (I say) the true solution of that former question, whereupon all these controversies do hang, be, that the natural substance of bread is the material substance in the sacrament of Christ's blessed body; then must it follow of the former proposition, (confessed of all that be named to be learned, so far as I do know in England,) which is, that there is but one material substance in the sacrament of the body, and one only likewise in the sacrament of the blood, that there is no such thing indeed and in truth as they call transubstantiation, for the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament of the body. Then also the natural substance of Christ's human nature, which he took of the Virgin Mary, is in heaven, where it reigneth now in glory, and not here inclosed under the form of bread. Then that godly honour, which is only due unto God the Creator, *may* not be done unto the creature without idolatry and sacrilege, *is* not to be done unto the holy sacrament. Then also the wicked, I mean the impenitent, murderer, adulterer, or such-like, do not receive the natural substance of the blessed body and blood of Christ. Finally, then doth it follow, that Christ's blessed body and blood, which was once only offered and shed upon the cross, being available for the sins of all the whole world, is offered up no more in the natural substance thereof, neither by the priest, nor any other thing.

But here, before we go any further to search in this matter, and to wade, as it were, to search and try out, as

we may, the truth hereof in the Scripture, it shall do well by the way to know, whether they, that thus make answer and solution unto the former principal question, do take away simply and absolutely the presence of Christ's body and blood from the sacrament, ordained by Christ, and duly ministered according to his holy ordinance and institution of the same. Undoubtedly, they do deny that utterly, either so to say, or so to mean. Hereof if a man do or will doubt, the books, which are written already in this matter of them that thus do answer, will make the matter plain.

What kind of presence is to be granted in the Lord's Supper.

Now then you will say, what kind of presence do they grant, and what do they deny? Briefly, they deny the presence of Christ's body in the natural substance of his human and assumed nature, and grant the presence of the same by grace: that is, they affirm and say, that the substance of the natural body and blood of Christ is only remaining in heaven, and so shall be unto the latter day, when he shall come again in glory, accompanied with the angels of heaven, to judge both the quick and the dead. And the same natural substance of the very body and blood of Christ, because it is united in the divine nature in Christ, the second Person of the Trinity, therefore it hath not only life in itself, but is also able to give, and doth give life unto so many as be, or shall be partakers thereof: That is, that to all that do believe on his name, which are not born of blood, as St John saith, or of the will of the flesh, or of the will of man, but are born of God—though the self-same substance abide still in heaven, and they, for the time of their pilgrimage, dwell here upon earth; by grace (I say), that is, by the gift of this life (mentioned in John) and the properties of the same meet for our pilgrimage here upon earth, the same body of Christ is here present with us. Even as, for example, we say the same sun, which, in substance, never removeth his place out of the heavens, is yet present here by his beams, light, and natural influence, where it shineth upon the earth. For God's word and his sacraments be, as it were, the beams of Christ, which is *Sol justitiæ*, the Sun of righteousness.

Matt. xxiv.

John vi.

John i.

John vi.

Mal. iv.

Thus hast thou heard, of what sort or sect soever thou be, wherein doth stand the principal state and chief point of

all the controversies, which do properly pertain unto the nature of this sacrament. As for the use thereof, I grant, there be many other things whereof here I have spoken nothing at all. And now, lest thou mayest justly complain and say, that I have, in opening of this matter, done nothing else but digged a pit, and have not shut it up again; or broken a gap, and have not made it up again; or opened the book, and have not closed it again; or else, to call me what thou listest, as neutral dissembler, or whatsoever else thy lust and learning shall serve thee to name me worse;—therefore here now I will, by God's grace, not only shortly, but also clearly and plainly as I can, make thee to know, whether of the aforesaid two answers to the former principal state and chief point doth like me best. Yea, and also I will hold all those accursed, which in this matter, that now so troubleth the church of Christ, have of God received the key of knowledge, and yet go about to shut up the doors, so that they themselves will not enter in, nor suffer other that would. And, for mine own part, I consider, both of late what charge and cure of souls hath been committed unto me, whereof God knoweth how soon I shall be called to give account, and also now in this world what peril and danger of the laws (concerning my life) I am now in at this present time: what folly were it then for me now to dissemble with God, of whom assuredly I look and hope by Christ to have everlasting life! Seeing that such charge and danger (both before God and man) do compass me in round about on every side; therefore (God willing) I will frankly and freely utter my mind; and though my body be captive, yet my tongue and my pen, as long as I may, shall freely set forth that which undoubtedly I am persuaded to be the truth of God's word. And yet I will do it under this protestation, call me a Protestant who listeth, I pass not thereof[1]. My protestation shall be thus: that my mind is and ever shall be, (God willing), to set forth sincerely the true sense and meaning (to the best of my understanding) of God's most holy word, and not to decline from the same, either for fear of worldly danger, or else for hope of gain.

A protestation.

I do protest also due obedience and submission of my

[1 I pass not thereof. I care not for it. Ed.]

judgment in this my writing, and in all other mine affairs, unto those of Christ's Church, which be truly learned in God's holy word, gathered in Christ's name, and guided by his Spirit. After this protestation, I do plainly affirm and say, that the *second answer, made unto the chief*[2] question and principal point, I am persuaded to be the very true meaning and sense of God's holy word; that is, that the natural substance of bread and wine is the true material substance of the holy sacrament of the blessed body and blood of our Saviour Christ: and the places of Scripture whereupon this my faith is grounded, be these, both concerning the sacrament of the body, and also of the blood.

Answer to the chief question.

First, let us repeat the beginning of the institution of the Lord's supper, wherein all the three Evangelists and St Paul almost in words do agree; saying, that "Jesus took bread, gave thanks, brake, and gave to the disciples, saying, Take, eat, this is my body." Here it appeareth plainly, that Christ calleth very bread his body. For that which he took was very bread (in this all men do agree); and that which he took, after he had given thanks, he brake; and that which he took and brake, he gave it to his disciples; and that which he took, brake, and gave to his disciples, he said himself of it: "This is my body." So it appeareth plainly that Christ called very bread his body. But very bread cannot be his body in very substance thereof. Therefore it must needs have another meaning, which meaning appeareth plainly, what it is, by the next sentence that followeth immediately, both in Luke and in Paul.

Christ calleth very bread his body.

And that is this: "Do this in remembrance of me." Whereupon it seemeth to me to be evident, that Christ did take bread, and called it his body, for that he would thereby institute a perpetual remembrance of his body, specially of that singular benefit of our redemption, which he would then procure and purchase unto us by his body upon the cross. But bread, retaining still its own very natural substance, may be thus by grace, and in a sacramental signification, his body: whereas else the very bread, which he took, brake, and gave them, could not be in any wise his

Argument. Luke xxii. 1 Cor. xi.

[2] The words in Italics are wanting in the editions subsequent to 1556. Ed.]

natural body, for that were confusion of substances. And therefore the very words of Christ, joined with the next sentence following, both enforce us to confess the very bread to remain still, and also open unto us, how that bread may be, and is thus, by his divine power, his body which was given for us.

Objection. But here I remember, I have read in some writers of the contrary opinion, which do deny, that that, which Christ did take, he brake. For, say they, after his taking, he Mark xiv. blessed it, as Mark doth speak; and by his blessing he changed the natural substance of the bread into the natural substance of his body: and so, although he took the bread and blessed it, yet because in blessing he changed the substance of it, he brake not the bread, which then was not there, but only the form thereof.

Answer. Unto this objection I have two plain answers, both grounded upon God's word. The one I will rehearse; the other answer I will defer, until I speak of the sacrament of the blood. Mine answer here is taken out of the plain words of St Paul, which doth manifestly confound this fantastical invention, first invented, I ween, of Pope Innocentius[1], and after confirmed by that subtle sophister Duns, and lately renewed now in our days with an eloquent style and much fineness of wit. But what can crafty invention, subtilty in sophisms, eloquence or fineness of wit, prevail against the unfallible word of God? What need have we to strive and contend what thing we break? For Paul saith, speaking undoubtedly of the Lord's table: "The bread, saith he, which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the Lord's body?" Whereupon followeth, that after the thanksgiving it is bread which we break. And how often, in the Acts of the Apostles, is the Lord's supper signified by Acts ii. breaking of bread? "They did persevere," saith St Luke, "in the Apostles' doctrine, communion, and breaking of bread." Ibidem. And, "They brake bread in every house." And again, in Acts xx. another place, "When they were come together to break bread, &c." St Paul, which setteth forth the most fully in his writings both the doctrine and the right use of the

It is meant of a book first set forth under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, and afterward of Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester.

[1] Innocent III., in the fourth Lateran Council, held A.D. 1215. Ed.]

Lord's supper, and the sacramental eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood, calleth it five times, "bread," "bread," "bread," "bread," "bread." 1 Cor. x. 1 Cor. xi.

The sacramental bread is the mystical body: and so it is called in Scripture, as it is called the natural body of Christ. But Christ's mystical body is the congregation of Christians. Now no man was ever so fond, as to say, that that sacramental bread is transubstantiated and changed into the substance of the congregation. Wherefore no man should likewise think or say, that the bread is transubstantiated and changed into the natural substance of Christ's human nature. 1 Cor. x. The second reason. 1 Cor. x.

But my mind is not here to write what may be gathered out of Scriptures for this purpose, but only to note here briefly those which seem unto me to be the most plain places. Therefore, contented to have spoken thus much of the sacramental bread, I will now speak a little of the Lord's cup.

And this shall be my third argument, grounded upon Christ's own words. The natural substance of the sacramental wine remaineth still, and is the material substance of the sacrament of the blood of Christ: therefore it is likewise so in the sacramental bread. The third argument.

I know, that he that is of a contrary opinion, will deny the former part of my argument: but I will prove it thus, by the plain words of Christ himself, both in Matthew and in Mark. Christ's words are these, after the words said upon the cup[2]: "I say unto you (saith Christ), I will not drink henceforth of *this* fruit of the vine-tree, until I shall drink that new in my Father's kingdom." Here note, how Christ calleth plainly his cup the fruit of the vine-tree. But the fruit of the vine-tree is very natural wine. Wherefore the natural substance of the wine doth remain still in the sacrament of Christ's blood. Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

And here, in speaking of the Lord's cup, it cometh unto my remembrance the vanity of Innocentius his fantastical invention, which by Paul's words I did confute before,

[2 Λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ πίω ἀπ' ἄρτι ἐκ τούτου τοῦ γεννήματος τῆς ἀμπέλου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ὅταν αὐτὸ πίνω μεθ' ὑμῶν καινὸν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου. Matth. xxvi. 29.]

and here did promise somewhat more to speak; and that is this: If the transubstantiation be made by this word "blessed" in Mark, said upon the bread, as Innocentius, that Pope, did say; then surely, seeing that word is not said of Christ, neither of any of the Evangelists, nor in St Paul, upon the cup, there is no transubstantiation of the wine at all. For where the cause doth fail, there cannot follow the effect. But the sacramental bread, and the sacramental wine, do both remain in their natural substance alike; and if the one be not changed, as of the sacramental wine it appeareth evidently, then there is not any such transubstantiation in neither of them both.

All, that put and affirm this change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of Christ's body and blood (called transubstantiation), do also say and affirm this change to be made by a certain form of prescript words, and none other. But what[1] they be that make the change either of the one or of the other, undoubtedly even they, that do write most finely in these our days, almost confess plainly that they cannot tell. For although they grant to certain of the old doctors, as Chrysostom and Ambrose, that these words, "This is my body," are the words of consecration of the sacrament of the body: "yet," say they, "these words may well be so called, because they do assure us of the consecration thereof, whether it be done before these words be spoken, or no." But, as for this their doubt (concerning the sacrament of the body), I let it pass.

Winchester in the answer to the 48th objection.

Let us now consider the words which pertain to the cup. This is first evident: that, as Matthew much agreeth with Mark, and likewise Luke with Paul much agreeth, herein in the form of words; so, in the same, the form of words in Matthew and Mark is diverse from that which is in Luke and Paul. The old authors do most rehearse the form of words in Matthew and Mark, because, I ween, they seemed to them most clear. But here I would know, whether it is credible or no, that Luke and Paul, when they celebrated the Lord's supper with their congregations, did not use the same form of words at the Lord's table, which they wrote, Luke in his Gospel, and Paul in his Epistle. Of Luke,

With what words the popish priesthood is given.

[1] But which be the words. Ed.]

because he was a physician, whether some will grant that he might be a priest or no, and was able to receive the order of priesthood, which (they say) is given by virtue of these words said by the Bishop, "Take thou authority to sacrifice for the quick and the dead," I cannot tell. But, if they should be so strait upon Luke, either for his craft, or else for lack of such power given him by virtue of the aforesaid words: then, I ween, both Peter and Paul are in danger to be deposed of their priesthood; for the craft either of fishing, which was Peter's, or making of tents, which was Paul's, were more vile than the science of physic. And, as for those sacramental words of the order of priesthood, to have authority to sacrifice both for the quick and the dead, I ween, Peter and Paul (if they were both alive) were not able to prove, that ever Christ gave them such authority, or ever said any such words unto them. But I will let Luke go: and, because Paul speaketh more for himself, I will rehearse his words. "That (saith Paul) which I received of the Lord, I gave unto you: for the Lord Jesus, &c.:" and so setteth forth the whole institution and right use of the Lord's supper. Now, seeing that Paul here saith; that, which he received of the Lord, he had given them; and that, which he had received and given them before by word of mouth, now he rehearseth and writeth the same in his Epistle: is it credible that Paul would never use this form of words upon the Lord's cup, which (as he saith) he received of the Lord, that he had given them before, and now rehearseth in his Epistle? I trust, no man is so far from all reason, but he will grant me that this is not likely to be.

Peter and Paul were no priests of the popish order.

1 Cor. xi.

Now then, if you grant me that Paul did use the form of words which he writeth, let us then rehearse and consider Paul's words, which he saith Christ spake thus upon the cup: "This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do as often as ye shall drink it in the remembrance of me."

Here I would know, whether that Christ's words, spoken upon the cup, were not as mighty in work, and as effectual in signification, to all intents, constructions, and purposes (as our Parliament men do speak), as they were, spoken upon

the bread? If this be granted, which thing, I think, no man can deny, then further I reason thus: but the word "is" in the words spoken upon the Lord's bread, doth mightily signify (they say) the change of the substance of that which goeth before it, into the substance of that which followeth after; that is, of the substance of Christ's body, when Christ saith, This is my body. Now then, if Christ's words, which be spoken upon the cup, which Paul here rehearseth, be of the same might and power both in working and signifying; then must this word "is," when Christ saith, "This cup is the New Testament, &c." turn the substance of the cup into the substance of the New Testament. And, if thou wilt say, that this word "is" neither maketh nor signifieth any such change of the cup, although it be said of Christ, that this cup is the New Testament, yet Christ meant no such change as that; marry, Sir, even so say I, when Christ said of the bread which he took, and after thanks given, brake, and gave them, saying, "Take, eat, this is my body;" he meant no more any such change of the substance of bread into the substance of his natural body, than he meant of *the change and transubstantiation of the cup into the substance of*[1] the New Testament.

And, if thou wilt say, that the word ("cup") here in Christ's words doth not signify the cup itself, but the wine, or thing contained in the cup, by a figure called *metonymy*, for that Christ's words meant, and so must needs be taken; thou sayest very well. But, I pray thee by the way, here note two things: first, that this word ("is") hath no such strength and signification in the Lord's words, to make or to signify any transubstantiation: secondly, that, in the Lord's words, whereby he instituted the sacrament of his blood, he used a figurative speech. How vain then is it, that some so earnestly do say, as if it were an infallible rule, that in doctrine and in the institution of the sacraments Christ used no figures, but all his words are to be strained to their proper signification; when as here, whatsoever thou sayest was in the cup, neither that, nor the cup itself (taking every word in its proper signification), was the New Testament:

Two necessary notes.

[1] These words are found in the edition of 1556, but not in those subsequent. Ed.]

but in understanding that, which was in the cup, by the cup, that is a figurative speech. Yea, and also thou canst not verify, or truly say of that (whether thou sayest it was wine or Christ's blood) to be the New Testament, without a figure also. Thus, in one sentence spoken of Christ in the institution of the sacrament of his blood, the figure must help us twice: so untrue is it that some do write; that Christ useth no figure, in the doctrine of faith, nor in the institution of his sacraments.

Note well the papists' error confuted.

But some say: if we shall thus admit figures in doctrine; then shall all the articles of our faith, by figures and allegories, shortly be transformed and unloosed. I say, it is like fault, and even the same, to deny the figure where the place so requireth to be understood, as vainly to make it a figurative speech, which is to be understood in its proper signification.

The rules, whereby the speech is known, when it is a figurative, and when it is not, St Augustine, in his book called *De Doctrina Christiana*, giveth divers learned lessons, very necessary to be known of the student in God's word. Of the which one I will rehearse, which is this: "If[2]" (saith he) "the Scripture doth seem to command a thing which is wicked or ungodly, or to forbid a thing that charity doth require; then know thou (saith he) that the speech is figurative." And, for example, he bringeth the saying of Christ in the 6th chapter of St John: "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye cannot have life in you." It seemeth to command a wicked or an ungodly thing. Wherefore it is a figurative speech, commanding to have communion and fellowship with Christ's passion, and devoutly and wholesomely to lay up in memory that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

Aug. de doct. Christiana, lib. iii. c. 16.

And here I cannot but marvel at some men, surely of much excellent fineness of wit, and of great eloquence, that

[2 Si autem flagitium aut facinus videter jubere, aut utilitatem aut beneficentiam vetare, figurata est. "Nisi manducaveritis (inquit) carnem filii hominis, et sanguinem biberitis, non habebitis vitam in vobis." Facinus vel flagitium videtur jubere: figura est ergo, præcipiens, passioni Dominicæ communicandum, et suaviter atque utiliter recondendum in memoria quod pro nobis caro ejus crucifixa et vulnerata sit. S. Augustini de doctr. Christ. lib. III. c. 16. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1679, vol. ii. col. 52. Ed.]

are not ashamed to write and say, that this aforesaid saying of Christ is (after St Augustine) a figurative speech indeed, howbeit not unto the learned, but unto the unlearned. Here let any man, that indifferently understandeth the Latin tongue, read the place in St Augustine: and, if he perceive not clearly St Augustine's words and mind to be contrary, let me abide thereof the rebuke.

Gardiner in his answers to the 161st and 226th objection.

This lesson of St Augustine I have therefore the rather set forth; because, as it teacheth us to understand that place in John figuratively, even so surely the same lesson with the example of St Augustine's exposition thereof teacheth us, not only by the same to understand Christ's words in the institution of the sacrament, both of his body and of his blood, figuratively, but also the very true meaning and understanding of the same. For if to command to eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and to drink his blood, seemeth to command an inconvenience and an ungodliness; and is even so indeed, if it be understanded, as the words do stand in their proper signification, and therefore must be understanded figuratively and spiritually, as St Augustine doth godly and learnedly interpret them; then surely Christ, commanding in his last supper to eat his body and to drink his blood, seemeth to command, in sound of words, as great and even the same inconvenience and ungodliness, as did his words in the 6th chapter of St John; and therefore must even by the same reason be likewise understanded and expounded figuratively and spiritually, as St Augustine did the other. Whereunto that exposition of St Augustine may seem to be the more meet, for that Christ in his supper, to the commandment of eating and drinking of his body and blood, addeth: "Do this in the remembrance of me." Which words, surely, were the key that opened and revealed this spiritual and godly exposition unto St Augustine.

But I have tarried longer in setting forth the form of Christ's words upon the Lord's cup, written by Paul and Luke, than I did intend to do. And yet, in speaking of the form of Christ's words spoken upon his cup, cometh now to my remembrance the form of words used in the Latin mass upon the Lord's cup. Whereof I do not a little marvel, what should be the cause, seeing the Latin mass agreeth with the Evangelists and Paul in the form of words said upon the

Words of the Latin mass.

bread, why, in the words upon the Lord's cup, it differeth from them all; yea, and addeth to the words of Christ, spoken upon the cup, these words, *mysterium fidei*, that is, "the mystery of faith;" which are not read to be attributed unto the sacrament of Christ's blood, neither in the Evangelists, nor in Paul, nor (so far as I know) in any other place of holy Scripture. Yea, and if it may have some good exposition, yet, why it should not be as well added unto the words of Christ upon his bread, as upon his cup, surely I do not see that mystery.

The abuse of the Sacrament in the Latin mass.

And, because I see in the use of the Latin mass the sacrament of the blood abused, when it is denied unto the lay people, clean contrary unto God's most certain word; for why, I do beseech thee, should the sacrament of Christ's blood be denied unto the lay Christians, more than to the priest? Did not Christ shed his blood as well for the lay godly man as for the godly priest? If thou wilt say, Yes, that he did so; but yet the sacrament of the blood is not to be received without the offering up and sacrificing thereof unto God the Father, both for the quick and for the dead; and no man may make oblation of Christ's blood unto God, but a priest, and therefore the priest alone (and that but in his mass only) may receive the sacrament of the blood: and call you this, my masters, *mysterium fidei?*

2 Thess. ii. Ps. lxvii.

Alas! alas! I fear me, this is before God *mysterium iniquitatis*, the mystery of iniquity, such as Paul speaketh of in his Epistle to the Thessalonians. The Lord be merciful unto us, and bless us, and lighten his countenance upon us, and be merciful unto us; that we may know thy way upon earth, and among all people thy salvation.

This kind of oblation standeth upon transubstantiation, its german cousin, and do grow both upon one ground. The Lord weed out of his vineyard shortly (if it be his will and pleasure) that bitter root!

The mass sacrifice injurious to Christ's passion.

To speak of this oblation; how much it is injurious unto Christ's passion, how it cannot but with high blasphemy, and heinous arrogance, and intolerable pride, be claimed of any man, other than of Christ himself; how much and how plainly it repugneth unto the manifest words, the true sense and meaning, of holy Scripture in many places, especially in the

Heb. ix. Epistle to the Hebrews; the matter is so long, and others have written of it at large, that my mind is now not to entreat thereof any further.

For only in this my scribbling I intended to search out and set forth by the Scriptures (according to God's gracious gift of my poor knowledge), whether the true sense and meaning of Christ's words in the institution of his holy supper do require any transubstantiation (as they call it), or that the very substance of bread and wine do remain still in the Lord's supper, and be the material substance of the holy sacrament of Christ our Saviour's blessed body and blood. Yet there remaineth one vain quiddity of Duns in this matter, the which, because some that write now do seem to like it so well, that they have stripped him out of Duns' dusty and dark terms, and pricked him and painted him in fresh colours of an eloquent style, may therefore deceive the more, except the error be warily eschewed.

Gardiner in the answer to the 15th objection.

Duns saith in these words of Christ, This is my body, "This pronoun demonstrative, meaning the word 'this,' if ye will know what it doth shew or demonstrate, whether the bread that Christ took or no, he answereth, no; but only one thing in substance it pointeth, whereof the nature and name it doth not tell, but leaveth that to be determined and told by that which followeth the word, 'is,' that is, by *predicatum*, as the logician doth speak:" and therefore he calleth this pronoun demonstrative "this," *individuum vagum*, that is, a wandering proper name, whereby we may point out and shew any one thing in substance, what thing soever it be.

That this imagination is vain and untruly applied unto those words of Christ, "This is my body," it may appear plainly by the words of Luke and Paul, said upon the cup, conferred with the form of words spoken upon the cup in Matthew and Mark: for as upon the bread it is said of all, "This is my body;" so of Matthew and Mark is said of the cup, "This is my blood." Then, if in the words, "This is my body," the word ("this") be, as Duns calleth it, "a wandering name," to appoint and shew forth any one thing, whereof the name and nature it doth not tell; so must it be likewise in these words of Matthew and Mark upon the

Lord's cup, "This is my blood." But, in the words of Matthew and Mark, it signifieth and pointeth out the same that it doth in the Lord's words upon the cup in Luke and Paul, where it is said, "This cup is the New Testament in my blood, &c." Therefore, in Matthew and Mark, the pronoun demonstrative ("this") doth not wander to point out only one thing in substance, not shewing what it is, but telleth plainly what it is, no less in Matthew and Mark unto the eye, than is done in Luke and Paul, by putting too this word "cup" both unto the eye and unto the ear.

For taking the cup, and demonstrating or shewing it unto his disciples by this pronoun demonstrative "this," and saying unto them, "Drink ye all of this;" it was then all one to say, "This is my blood," as to say, "This cup is my blood," meaning by the cup, as the nature of the speech doth require, the thing contained in the cup. So likewise, without all doubt, when Christ had taken bread, given thanks, and broken it, and giving it to his disciples, said, "Take;" and so demonstrating and shewing that bread which he had in his hands[1], to say then, "This is my body," and to have said, "This bread is my body." As it were all one, if a man, lacking a knife, and going to his oysters, would say to another, whom he saw to have two knives, "Sir, I pray you lend me the one of your knives;" were it not now all one to answer him: "Sir, hold, I will lend you *this* to eat your meat, but not to open oysters withal:" and "Hold, I will lend you *this knife* to eat your meat, but not to open oysters?"

This similitude serveth but for this purpose, to declare the nature of speech withal: whereas the thing that is demonstrated and shewed, is evidently perceived, and openly known to the eye. But, O good Lord, what a wonderful thing is it to see, how some men do labour to teach, what is demonstrated and shewed by the pronoun demonstrative, "this," in Christ's words, when he saith: "This is my body;" "this is my blood:" how they labour (I say) to teach what that "this" was then in deed, when Christ spake in the beginning of the sentence the word "this," before he had pronounced the rest of the words that followed in the same sentence; so that their doctrine may agree with

Gardiner to the 13th objection.

[1 Subaudi—it is all one. Ed.]

their transubstantiation: which indeed is the very foundation wherein all their erroneous doctrine doth stand. And here the transubstantiators do not agree among themselves, no more than they do in the words which wrought the transubstantiation, when Christ did first institute his sacrament. Wherein Innocentius[a], a Bishop of Rome, of the latter days, and Duns (as was noted before), do attribute the work unto the word *benedixit*, "he blessed:" but the rest for the most part to *hoc est corpus meum*, "this is my body." Duns, therefore, with his sect, because he putteth the change before, must needs say, that "this," when Christ spake it in the beginning of the sentence, was indeed Christ's body. For in the change the substance of bread did depart, and the change was new done in "benedixit," saith he, that went before. And therefore, after him and his, that "this" was then indeed Christ's body, though the word did not then import so much, but only one thing in substance, which substance, after Duns, the bread being gone, must needs be the substance of Christ's body. But they, that put their transubstantiation to be wrought by these words of Christ, "This is my body," and do say, that, when the whole sentence was finished, then this change was perfected, and not before: they cannot say, but yet Christ's "this" in the beginning of the sentence, before the other words were fully pronounced, was bread indeed. But as yet the change was not done, and so long the bread must needs remain: and so long, with the universal consent of all transubstantiators, the natural substance of Christ's body cannot come; and, therefore, must their "this" of necessity demonstrate and shew the substance, which was as yet in the pronouncing of the first word "this" by Christ, but bread. But how can they make and verify Christ's words to be true, demonstrating the substance, which, in the demonstration, is but bread, and say thereof, "This is my body," that is, as they say, the natural substance of Christ's body; except they would say, that the verb "is" signifieth, "is made," or "is changed into?" And so then, if the same verb "is" be of the same effect in Christ's words spoken upon the cup, and rehearsed by Luke and Paul; the cup, or the wine in the cup, must

Innocentius III. Epist. lib. v. ep. 121.

The papists themselves do not agree.

[a] See note A. at the end of the volume.

be made or turned into the New Testament, as was declared before.

There be some among the transubstantiators, which walk so wilily and so warily betwixt these two aforesaid opinions, allowing them both, and holding plainly neither of them both, that methink they may be called neutrals, ambidexters, or rather such as can shift on both sides. They play on both parts: for, with the latter, they do all allow the doctrine of the last syllable; which is, that transubstantiation is done by miracle in an instant, at the sound of the last syllable ("*um*") in this sentence, *hoc est corpus meum:* and they do allow Duns' fantastical imagination of *individuum vagum*, which demonstrateth (as he teacheth) in Christ's words one thing in substance, that being (after his mind) the substance of the body of Christ.

Winchester is become neutral.

A marvellous thing, how any man can agree with both those two, they being so contrary the one to the other. For the one saith; The word ("this") demonstrateth the substance of bread: and the other saith; "No, not so; the bread is gone, and it demonstrateth a substance, which is Christ's body." "Tush," saith the third man, "ye understand nothing at all: they agree well enough in the chief point, which is the ground of all; that is, both do agree and bear witness, that there is transubstantiation."

Gardiner to the 84th objection.

They do agree, indeed, in that conclusion, I grant: but their proofs and doctrine thereof do even as well agree together, as did the false witnesses before Annas and Caiaphas against Christ, or the two wicked judges against Susanna. For against Christ the false witnesses did agree, no doubt, to speak all against him. And the wicked judges were both agreed to condemn poor Susanna: but, in examination of their witness, they dissented so far, that all was found false, that they went about; both that wherein they agreed, and all those things which they brought for their proofs.

God-makers agree among themselves.

Thus much have I spoken, in searching out a solution for this principal question: which was; What is the material substance of the holy sacrament in the Lord's supper? Now, lest I should seem to set by mine own conceit, more than is meet; or less to regard the doctrine of the old ecclesiastical writers, than is convenient for a man of my poor learning

The consent of the old authors.

and simple wit for to do; and because also I am indeed persuaded, that the old ecclesiastical writers understood the true meaning of Christ in this matter; and have both so truly and so plainly set it forth in certain places of their writings, that no man, which will vouchsafe to read them, and without prejudice of a corrupt judgment will indifferently weigh them, and construe their minds none otherwise than they declare themselves to have meant: I am persuaded (I say), that, in reading of them thus, no man can be ignorant in this matter, but he that will shut up his own eyes, and blindfold himself. When I speak of ecclesiastical writers, I mean of such as were before the wicked usurpation of the See of Rome was grown so unmeasurably great, that not only with tyrannical power, but also with corrupt doctrine, it began to subvert Christ's Gospel, and to turn the state, that Christ and his Apostles had set in the church, upside down.

For the causes aforesaid, I will rehearse certain of their sayings: and yet, because I take them but for witnesses and expounders of this doctrine, and not as the authors of the same; and also for that now I will not be tedious, I will rehearse but few: that is, three old writers of the Greek church, and other three of the Latin church, which do seem unto me to be in this matter most plain: the Greek authors are Origen, Chrysostom, and Theodoret: the Latin are Tertullian, St Augustine, and Gelasius.

I know, there can be nothing spoken so plainly, but the crafty wit, furnished with eloquence, can darken it, and wrest it quite from the true meaning to a contrary sense. And I know also that eloquence, craft, and fineness of wit, hath gone about to blear men's eyes and to stop their ears in the aforenamed writers, that men should neither hear nor see what those authors both write and teach so plainly, that, except men should be made both stark blind and deaf, they cannot but of necessity, if they will read and weigh them indifferently, both hear and see what they do mean, when eloquence, craft, and fineness of wit, have done all that they can. Now let us hear the old writers of the Greek church.

Origen. Eccl. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. 3.

Origen, which lived above twelve hundred and fifty years ago; a man, for the excellency of his learning, so highly

esteemed in Christ's church, that he was counted and judged the singular teacher, in his time, of Christ's religion, the confounder of heresies, the schoolmaster of many godly martyrs, and an opener of high mysteries in Scripture: he, writing upon the 15th chapter of St Matthew's Gospel, saith thus: "[1]But if any thing enter into the mouth, it goeth away into the belly, and is avoided into the draught. Yea, and that meat which is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, concerning the matter thereof, it goeth away into the belly, and is avoided into the draught. But, for the prayer which is added unto it, for the proportion of the faith, it is made profitable, making the mind able to perceive and to see that which is profitable. For it is not the material substance of bread, but the word, which is spoken upon it, that is profitable to the man, that eateth it not unworthily. And this I mean of the typical and symbolical (that is, sacramental) body." Thus far go the words of Origen; where it is plain, first, that Origen, speaking here of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, as the last words do plainly signify, doth mean and teach, that the material substance thereof is received, digested, and voided, as the material substance of other bread and meats is: which could not be, if there were no material substance of bread at all, as the fantastical opinion of transubstantiation doth put. Origen in Matt. xv.

It is a world to see the answer of the Papists to this place of Origen.

In the disputations, which were in this matter in the parliament house, and in both the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, they that defended transubstantiation said, that this part of Origen was but set forth of late by Erasmus, and therefore is to be suspected. But how vain this their an- The disputations in the parliament house and in the universities.

[1 Πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται· καὶ τὸ ἁγιαζόμενον βρῶμα διὰ λόγου Θεοῦ καὶ ἐντεύξεως, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ὑλικὸν, εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται· κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιγινομένην αὐτῷ εὐχὴν, κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τῆς πίστεως ὠφέλιμον γίνεται, καὶ τῆς τοῦ νοῦ αἴτιον διαβλέψεως, ὁρῶντος ἐπὶ τὸ ὠφελοῦν, καὶ οὐχ ἡ ὕλη τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀλλ' ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῷ εἰρημένος λόγος ἐστὶν ὁ ὠφελῶν τὸν μὴ ἀναξίως τοῦ κυρίου ἐσθίοντα αὐτόν. Orig. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1733, vol. iii. pp. 499, 500. In Matth. Comment. Hom. xi. Ed.]

swer is, it appeareth plainly. For so may all the good old authors, which lay in old libraries, and are set forth of late, be by this reason rejected: as Clemens Alexandrinus, Theodoretus, Justinus, Ecclesiastica Historia Nicephori, and other such.

Another objection.

Another answer they had, saying: that Origen is noted to have erred in some points; and, therefore, faith is not to be given in this matter unto him. But this answer, well weighed, doth minister good matter to the clear confutation of itself. For indeed we grant that in some points Origen did err. But those errors are gathered out and noted both of St Hierome and Epiphanius, so that his works (those errors excepted) are now so much the more of authority, that such great learned men took pains to draw out of him whatsoever they thought in him to be written amiss. But, as concerning the matter of the Lord's supper, neither they nor yet ever any other ancient author did ever say, that Origen did err.

Gardiner to the 166th objection.

Now, because these two answers have been of late so confuted and confounded, that it is well perceived, that they will take no place; therefore some, which have written since that time, have forged two other answers, even of the same mould.

The former whereof is, that Origen in this place spake not of the sacrament of bread or wine of the Lord's table, but of another mystical meat, of the which St Augustine maketh mention, to be given unto them, that were taught the faith, before they were baptized. But Origen's own words in two sentences before rehearsed, being put together, prove this answer untrue. For he saith, that "he meaneth of that figurative and mystical body, which profiteth them that do receive it worthily:" alluding so plainly unto St Paul's words, spoken of the Lord's supper, that it is a shame for any learned man once to open his mouth to the contrary. And that bread, which St Augustine speaketh of, he cannot prove that any such thing was used in Origen's time. Yea, and though that could be proved, yet was there never *bread at any time called a sacramental body*[1], saving the sacramental bread of the Lord's table, which is called of Origen the typical and symbolical body of Christ.

[1] The words in Italics, though found in the edition of 1556, are not in those subsequent. Ed.]

The second of the two new-found answers is yet most monstrous of all other, which is this. "But let us grant (say they) that Origen spake of the Lord's supper, and by the matter thereof was understanded the material substance of bread and wine: what then?" say they. "For though the material substance was once gone and departed by reason of transubstantiation, whilst the forms of the bread and wine did remain; yet now it is no inconvenience to say, that as the material substance did depart at the entering in of Christ's body under the aforesaid forms, so, when the said forms be destroyed and do not remain, then cometh again the substance of bread and wine. And this," say they, "is very meet in this mystery, that that which began with a miracle, shall end in a miracle." If I had not read this fantasy, I would scarcely have believed, that any learned man ever would have set forth such a foolish fantasy; which not only lacketh all ground either of God's word, reason, or of any ancient writer, but is also clean contrary to the common rules of school divinity; which is, that no miracle is to be affirmed and put without necessity. And, although for their former miracle, which is their transubstantiation, they have some colour, though it be but vain; saying, it is done by the power and virtue of these words of Christ, "This is my body:" yet to make this second miracle, of returning the material substance again, they have no colour at all. Or else, I pray them shew me, by what words of Christ is the second miracle wrought? Thus ye may see, that the sleights and shifts, which craft and wit can invent, to wrest the true sense of Origen, cannot take place. But now let us hear one other place of Origen, and so we will let him go.

Gardiner in the same place.

Origen, in the seventh Homily, *super Leviticum*, saith, [2]that there is also even in the four Gospels, and not only in the Old Testament, a letter (meaning a literal sense),

The second authority of Origen.

[2] Est enim in Evangeliis litera quæ occidet, non solum in veteri testamento occidens litera deprehenditur. Est et in novo testamento litera quæ occidet cum qui non spiritaliter quæ dicuntur adverterit. Si enim secundum literam sequaris hoc ipsum quod dictum est "Nisi manducaveritis carnem meam et biberitis sanguinem meum," occidit hæc litera. Orig. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1733, vol. ii. p. 225. Hom. sup. Levit. vii. Interp. Ruf. Ed.]

which killeth: for, if thou follow (saith he) the letter in that saying, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, &c." this letter doth kill. If in that place the letter doth kill, wherein is commanded the eating of Christ's flesh; then surely in those words of Christ, wherein Christ commandeth us to eat his body, the literal sense thereof likewise doth kill. For it is no less crime, but even the same and all one in the literal sense, to eat Christ's body, and to eat Christ's flesh. Wherefore, if the one do kill, except it be understanded figuratively and spiritually; then the other surely doth kill likewise. But, that to eat Christ s flesh doth kill, so understanded, Origen affirmeth plainly in his words above rehearsed. Wherefore, it cannot be justly denied, but to eat Christ's body, literally understanded, must needs (after him) kill likewise.

The answer that is made to this place of Origen of the Papists is so foolish, that it bewrayeth itself without any further confutation. It is the same, that they make to a place of St Augustine, in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*, whereas St Augustine speaketh in effect the same thing that Origen doth here. The Papists' answer is this: "To the carnal man the literal sense is hurtful, but not so to the spiritual." As though to understand that in its proper sense, which ought to be taken figuratively, were to the carnal man a dangerous peril, but to the spiritual man none at all.

Lib. iii. cap. 16.

Now to Chrysostom, whom I bring for the second writer in the Greek church. He, speaking of the unholy using of man's body, which, after St Paul, ought to be kept pure and holy, as the very temple of the Holy Ghost, saith thus: "[1]If it be a fault (saith he) to translate the holy vessels (in

Chrysostom, in opere imperfecto. Hom. xi. in Matt.

[1 Si ergo vasa sanctificata ad privatos usus transferre, sic periculosum est, in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur; quanto magis vasa corporis nostri, quæ sibi Deus ad habitaculum præparavit, non debemus locum dare Diabolo agendi in eis quod vult.

S. Chrysostomi Op. Latin. Op. Imperfect. in Matth. Hom. xi.

Ed. Ben. Par. 1724. in fine tomi sexti p. lxiii.

Ed. Antwerp Nomeceius vol. ii. (of the Commentary) p. 35. Ed.]

} in brackets, and with a side-note, indicating a doubt of its genuineness.

the which is contained not the true body of Christ, but the mystery of the body) to private uses; how much more offence is it to abuse and defile the vessels of our body?"

These be the words of Chrysostom: but, I trow, that here many foul shifts are devised to defeat this place.

"The author," saith one, "is suspected." I answer, but in this place never fault was found with him unto these our days. And whether the author were John Chrysostom himself, the archbishop of Constantinople, or no, that is not the matter: for of all it is granted, that he was a writer of that age, and a man of learning. So that it is manifest, that this which he writeth was the received opinion of learned men in his days: or else, undoubtedly in such a matter his saying should have been impugned of some that wrote in his time, or near unto the same.

Gardiner to the 198th objection.

"Nay," saith another, "if this solution will not serve, we may say, that Chrysostom did not speak of the vessels of the Lord's cup, or such as were then used at the Lord's table, but of the vessels used in the temple in the old law." This answer will serve no more than the other. For here Chrysostom speaketh of such vessels, wherein was that which was called the body of Christ, although it was not the true body (saith he) of Christ, but the mystery of Christ's body. Now of the vessels of the old law, the writers do use no such manner of phrase; for their sacrifices were not called Christ's body: for then Christ was not, but in shadows and figures, and not by the sacrament of his body revealed. Erasmus, which was a man that could understand the words and sense of the writers, although he would not be seen to speak against this error of transubstantiation, because he durst not, yet in this time declareth plainly, that this saying of the writer is none otherwise to be understanded.

Gardiner in the same place.

"Yet can I," saith the third Papist, "find out a fine and subtle solution for this place, and grant all that yet is said, both allowing here the writer, and also that he meant of the vessels of the Lord's table. For (saith he) the body of Christ is not contained in them, at the Lord's table, as in a place, but as in a mystery." Is not this a pretty shift, and a mystical solution? But, by the same solution, then Christ's body is not in the Lord's table, nor in the priest's hands, nor in

the pix: and so he is here no where. For they will not say, that he is either here or there, as in a place. This answer pleaseth so well the maker, that he himself (after he had played with it a little while, and sheweth the fineness of his wit and eloquence therein) is content to give it over and say, "But it is not to be thought, that Chrysostom would speak after this fineness or subtlety:" and therefore he returneth again unto the second answer for his sheet anchor, which is sufficiently confuted before.

Another short place of Chrysostom I will rehearse, which (if any indifference may be heard) in plain terms setteth forth the truth of this matter. "[1]Before the bread," saith Chrysostom, writing *ad Cæsarium*[a] *monachum*, "be hallowed, we call it bread: but, the grace of God sanctifying it by the means of the priests, it is delivered now from the name of bread, and esteemed worthy to be called Christ's body, although the nature of bread tarry in it still." These be Chrysostom's words, wherein I pray you, what can be said or thought more plain against this error of transubstantiation, than to declare, that the bread abideth so still? And yet this so plain a place some are not ashamed thus shamefully to elude, saying: "We grant the nature of bread remaineth still thus, for that it may be seen, felt, and tasted; and yet the corporeal substance of the bread therefore is gone, lest two bodies should be confused together, and Christ should be thought impanate."

Chrysostom in Cæsarium Monachum.

Gardiner to the 201st objection.

What contrariety and falsehood is in this answer, the simple man may easily perceive. Is not this a plain contrariety, to grant that the nature of bread remaineth so still, that it may be seen, felt, and tasted, and yet to say, the corporeal substance is gone, to avoid the absurdity of Christ's impanation? And what manifest falsehood is this, to say or mean that, if the bread should remain still, then

[1 Sicut enim antequam sanctificetur panis, Panem nominamus, divina autem illum sanctificante gratiâ, mediante Sacerdote, liberatus est quidem appellatione panis, dignus autem habitus est dominici corporis appellatione, etiamsi natura panis in eo permansit. S. Chrysostomi Op. Ep. ad Cæsarium Monachum. Ed. Ben. Par. vol. iii. p. 744.—1717. Ed.]

[a See note B. at the end of the volume. Ed.]

must follow the inconveniency of impanation? As though the very bread could not be a sacrament of Christ's body (as water is of baptism), except Christ should unite the nature of bread to his nature, in unity of person, and make of the bread God.

Now let us hear Theodoretus, which is the last of the three Greek authors. He writeth in his Dialogue *contra Eutychen* thus: "[2]He that called his natural body corn and bread, and also named himself a vine tree; even he, the same, hath honoured the symbols (that is, the sacramental signs) with the names of his body and blood, not changing indeed the nature itself, but adding grace unto the nature." Theodoret. Dial. 1.

What can be more plainly said than this, that this old writer saith? That although the sacraments bear the name of the body and blood of Christ, yet is not their nature changed, but abideth still. And where is then the Papists' transubstantiation?

The same writer, in the second dialogue of the same work against the aforesaid heretic Eutyches, writeth yet more plainly against this error of transubstantiation, if any thing can be said to be more plain. For he maketh the heretic to speak thus against him that defendeth the true doctrine, whom he calleth Orthodoxus: "[3]As the sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord are one thing before the invocation, and after the invocation they be changed, and are made another; so likewise the Lord's body (saith the Dial. 2.

[2 Ὁ γὰρ δὴ τὸ φύσει σῶμα σῖτου καὶ ἄρτου προσαγορεύσας, καὶ αὖ πάλιν ἑαυτὸν ἄμπελον ὀνομάσας, οὗτος τὰ ὁρώμενα σύμβολα τῇ τοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος προσηγορίᾳ τετίμηκεν, οὐ τὴν φύσιν μεταβαλὼν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν τῇ φύσει προστεθεικώς. Theod. Dial. 1. Op. Ed. Par. 1642, tom. iv. p. 13. Ed.]

[3 Εραν. Ὥσπερ τοίνυν τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μέν εἰσι πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται· οὕτω τὸ δεσποτικὸν σῶμα, μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν, εἰς τὴν οὐσίαν μετεβλήθη τὴν θείαν.

Ορθόδοξος. Ἑάλως αἷς ὕφηνες ἄρκυσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ, μετὰ τὸν ἁγιασμὸν, τὰ μυστικὰ σύμβολα τῆς οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως· μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας καὶ τοῦ σχήματος καὶ τοῦ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατά ἐστι καὶ ἁπτὰ, οἷα καὶ πρότερον ἦν. Theod. Dial. 2. Op. Ed. Par. 1642, tom. iv. p. 85. Ed.]

heretic) is, after the assumption or ascension into heaven, turned into the substance of God:" the heretic meaning thereby, that Christ, after his ascension, remaineth no more a man.

To this Orthodoxus answereth thus, and saith to the heretic: "Thou art taken (saith he) in thine own snare; for those mystical symbols or sacraments, after the sanctification, do not go out of their own nature, but they tarry and abide still in their substance, figure, and shape; yea, and are sensibly seen, and groped to be the same as they were before, &c."

At these words the Papists do startle; and, to say the truth, these words be so plain, so full, and so clear, that they cannot tell what to say: but yet they will not cease to go about to play the cuttles, and to cast their colours over them, that the truth, which is so plainly told, should not have place. "This author wrote" (say they) "before the determination of the church." As who would say, whatsoever that wicked man Innocentius, the Pope of Rome, determined in his congregations with his monks and friars, that must needs be (for so Duns saith) holden for an article, and of the substance of our faith.

The cuttle is a sea-fish which casteth as it were an ink about her, and so by making the water black escapeth taking. Plin. lib. ix. cap. 4.

Some do charge this author, that he was suspected to be a Nestorian: which thing, in Chalcedon council, was tried, and proved to be false. But the foulest shift of all, and yet the best that they can find in this matter, when none other will serve, is to say, that Theodoret understandeth by the word substance accidents, and not substance indeed. This gloss is like a gloss of a lawyer upon a decree, the text whereof beginneth thus: *Statuimus*, that is, "we decree." The gloss of the lawyer (after many other pretty shifts there set forth, which he thinketh will not well serve to his purpose), therefore at the last, to clear the matter, he saith thus: "after the mind of one lawyer, *vel dic*" (saith he) "*statuimus, id est, abrogamus*[1]," that is, as expounded, "we do decree, that is, we do abrogate or disannul." Is not this a worthy and goodly gloss? Who will not say, but he is worthy in the law to be retained of counsel, that can gloss so well, and find in a matter of difficulty such

So answered D. Moreman in the Convocation House.

Distinc. 4. cap. Statuimus.

[1 The words "vel dic" do not occur in the passage. Decreta Gratiani. Ed. Par. 1585, p. 14. Ed.]

fine shifts? And yet this is the law, or at the least the gloss of the law. And therefore who can tell what peril a man may incur to speak against it; except he were a lawyer indeed, which can keep himself out of the briers, what wind soever may blow?

Hitherto ye have heard the writers of the Greek church, not all what they do say, for that were a labour too great for to gather, and too tedious for the reader, but one or two places of every one. The which how plain, and how full and clear they be against the error of transubstantiation, I refer it to the judgment of the indifferent reader. And now I will likewise rehearse the sayings of other three old ancient writers of the Latin Church, and so make an end.

Tertullian.

And first I will begin with Tertullian; whom Cyprian, the holy martyr, so highly esteemed, that, whensoever he would have his book, he was wont to say, "Give me the master." This old writer, in his fourth book against Marcion, the heretic, saith thus: "[1]Jesus made the bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body: that is to say (saith Tertullian), a figure of my body." In this place it is plain that, after Tertullian's exposition, Christ meant not, by calling the bread his body and the wine his blood, that either the bread was his natural body or the wine his natural blood: but he called them his body and blood, because he would institute them to be unto us sacraments, that is, holy tokens and signs of his body and of his blood; that, by them remembering and firmly believing the benefits procured to us by his body, which was torn and crucified for us, and of (by) his blood which was shed for us upon the cross, and so with thanks receiving these holy sacraments according to Christ's institution, (we) might by the same be spiritually nourished and fed to the increase of all godliness in us here in our pilgrimage and journey, wherein we walk unto everlasting life. This was undoubtedly Christ our Saviour's mind, and this is Tertullian's exposition. The wrangling, that the Papists do make to elude this saying of Tertullian, is so far out of frame, that it even

Adv. Marc. lib. iv. cap. 40.

[1] Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus suum illum fecit, "hoc est corpus meum" dicendo: id est, figura corporis mei. Tertul. Adv. Mar. lib. iv. c. 40. Op. Ed. Par. 1641, p. 571. Ed.]

Gardiner to the 16th objection.

wearieth me to think on it. "Tertullian writeth here (say they) as none hath done hitherto before him, neither yet any other catholic man after him."

This saying is too manifestly false: for Origen, Hilary, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, St Augustine, and other old authors likewise, do call the sacrament a figure of Christ's body. And where they say, that Tertullian wrote this when he was in a heat of disputation with an heretic, coveting by all means to overthrow his adversary; as who should say, he would not take heed what he did say, and specially what he would write in so high a matter, so that he might have the better hand of his adversary; is this credible to be true in any godly wise man? How much less then is it worthy to be thought or credited in a man of so great a wit, learning, and excellency, as Tertullian is worthily esteemed ever to have been?

Tertullian, lib. i. cap. 14, contra Marcion.

Likewise this author in his first book against the same heretic Marcion writeth thus: "[1]God did not reject bread, which is his creature; for by it he hath made a representation of his body." Now I pray you, what is this to say, that Christ hath made a representation (by bread) of his body, but that Christ had instituted and ordained bread to be a sacrament, for to represent unto us his body? Now, whether the representation of one thing by another requireth the corporeal presence of the thing which is so represented or no, every man that hath understanding is able in this point (the matter is so clear of itself), to be a sufficient judge.

St Augustine.

The second doctor and writer of the Latin church, whose saying I promised to set forth, is St Augustine, of whose learning and estimation I need not to speak. For all the church of Christ both hath and ever hath had him for a man of most singular learning, wit, and diligence, both in setting forth the true doctrine of Christ's religion, and also in defence of the same against heretics.

This author, as he hath written most plenteously in other

[1 Sed ille quidem usque nunc nec aquam reprobavit creatoris quâ suos abluit, nec oleum quo suos unguit, nec mellis et lactis societatem quâ suos infantat, nec panem quo ipsum corpus suum repræsentat. Tertul. Cont. Mar. lib. i. c. 14. Op. Ed. Par. 1641, pp. 439, 440. Ed.]

matters of our faith, so likewise on this argument he hath written at large in many of his works so plainly against this error of transubstantiation, that the Papists love least to hear of him of all other writers; partly for his authority, and partly because he openeth the matter more fully than any other doth. Therefore I will rehearse more places of him, than heretofore I have done of the other.

And first, what can be more plain, than that which he writeth upon the 98th Psalm, speaking of the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood; and rehearsing (as it were) Christ's words to his disciples, after this manner? "[2]It is not this body, which ye do see, that ye shall eat, neither shall ye drink this blood, which the soldiers that crucified me shall spill or shed: I do commend unto you a mystery, or a sacrament, which spiritually understood shall give you life." Now, if Christ had no more natural and corporal bodies, but that one which they then presently both heard and saw, nor other natural blood, but that which was in the same body, and the which the soldiers did afterward cruelly shed upon the cross; and neither this body nor this blood was (by this declaration of St Augustine) either to be eaten or drunken, but the mystery thereof spiritually to be understanded; then I conclude (if this saying and exposition of St Augustine be true), that the mystery, which the disciples should eat, was not the natural body of Christ, but a mystery of the same, spiritually to be understanded. August. in Ps. xcviii.

For as St Augustine saith, in his 20th book, "[3]Christ's flesh and blood was in the Old Testament promised by similitudes and signs of their sacrifices, and was exhibited in deed and in truth upon the cross: but the same is celebrated by a sacrament of remembrance upon the altar." Aug. contra Faustum, lib. xx. cap. 21.

[2] Non hoc corpus, quod videtis, manducaturi estis; et bibituri illum sanguinem, quem fusuri sunt qui me crucifigent. Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi; quod, spiritaliter intellectum, vivificabit vos. S. Aug. in Psal. xcviii. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. vol. iv. col. 1066. Basil Edit. vol. viii. col. 1105. Ed.]

[3] Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis ante adventum Christi per victimarum similitudinem promittebatur, in passione Christi per ipsam veritatem reddebatur, post adscensum Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur. S. Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx. c. 98. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. tom. viii. col. 348. Ed.]

De Fide, ad Petrum, cap. 19.

And in his book *De Fide ad Petrum*, cap. 19, he saith, that "[1]In these sacrifices, (meaning of the old law,) it is figuratively signified what was then to be given: but in this sacrifice it is evidently signified, what is already given (understanding in the sacrifice upon the altar), the remembrance and thanksgiving for the flesh, which he offered for us upon the cross:" as in the same place evidently there it may appear.

Another evident and clear place, wherein it appeareth, that by the sacramental bread, which Christ called his body, he meant "a figure of his body," is upon the third Psalm, where St Augustine speaketh thus in plain terms: "Christ did admit Judas unto the feast, in the which he commended unto his disciples *the figure of his body*[2]." This was Christ's last supper before his passion, wherein he did ordain the sacrament of his body, as all learned men do agree.

Augustine in Ps. iii.

Augustine, Ep. 23.

St Augustine also in his 23rd Epistle to Bonifacius teacheth how sacraments do bear the names of the things whereof they be sacraments, both in baptism and in the Lord's table; even as we call every Good Friday the day of Christ's passion, and every Easter Day the day of Christ's resurrection; when, in very deed, there was but one day wherein he suffered, and but one day wherein he rose. And why do we then call them so, which are not so indeed, but because they are in like time and course of the year, as those days were wherein those things were done? "Was Christ

[1] In illis enim carnalibus victimis figuratio fuit carnis Christi, quam pro peccatis nostris ipse sine peccato fucrat oblaturus, et sanguinis quem erat effusurus in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum; in isto autem sacrificio gratiarum actio atque commemoratio est carnis Christi quam pro nobis obtulit et sanguinis quem pro nobis idem Deus effudit. Fulgentius, Edit. Lug. 1633.

The Liber ad Petrum de Fide is a work not of Augustine, but of Fulgentius. In the Benedictine Edition of St Augustine, printed at Paris, 1679, the book is prefaced with an Admonitio commencing thus: Liber "de fide ad Petrum" inter Augustini opera olim impressus est, veterum aliquot manuscriptorum auctoritate, verum non esse Augustini probe monstravit Erasmus ex ipsâ phrasi, aliisque argumentis quæ hîc referre superfluum putamus. Nam indubitatus ejus auctor a nemine jam ignoratur Fulgentius. Ed.]

[2] Cum adhibuit ad convivium in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit. S. Aug. in Psal. iii. Op. Ben. Ed. Par. vol. iv. col. 7. Ed.]

(saith St Augustine) offered any more but once? And he offered himself. And yet in a sacrament or representation, not only every solemn feast of Easter, but also every day to the people he is offered. So that he doth not lie, that saith, 'He is every day offered.' For if sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of those things, whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments: and, for their similitudes and likeness, commonly they have the names of the things whereof they be sacraments. Therefore, as after a certain manner of speech the sacrament of Christ's body *is* Christ's body, the sacrament of Christ's blood *is* Christ's blood; so likewise the sacrament of faith *is* faith[3]."

After this manner of speech, St Augustine teacheth in his question, *Super Leviticum et cont. Adamantum*, it is "said in Scripture, that seven ears of corn be seven years; and 'the rock was Christ;' and 'blood is the soul[4]:' the which last saying (saith St Augustine in his book *cont. Adamant.*[5]) is understanded to be spoken in a sign or figure; for the Lord himself did not stick to say, 'This is my body,' Quest. 57, lib. iii. Ep. 102, cap. 12, § 3.

[3 Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent; ex hâc autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo, secundum quemdam modum, sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est; ita sacramentum fidei fides est. S. Aug. Epist. XXIII. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1679. vol. ii. col. 267. F. Ed.]

[4 Solet autem res quæ significat ejus rei nomine quam significat nuncupari, sicut scriptum est, septem spicæ septem anni sunt; non enim dixit, septem annos significant. Septem boves septem anni sunt, et multa hujusmodi. Hinc est quod dictum est, Petra erat Christus; non enim dixit, Petra significat Christum, sed tanquam hoc esset quod utique per substantiam non hoc erat, sed per significationem. Sic et sanguis quoniam propter vitalem corpulentiam animam significat in sacramentis, anima dictus est. S. Aug. Quæst. 57. lib. III. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. vol. iii. col. 516. Ed.]

[5 Nam ex eo quod scriptum est sanguinem pecoris animam ejus esse, præter id quod supra dixi, non ad me pertinere quid agatur de pecoris animâ, possum etiam interpretari præceptum illud, in signo esse positum; non enim Dominus dubitavit dicere, "Hoc est corpus meum," cum signum daret corporis sui. S. Aug. Epist. CII. c. 12. sect. 3. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. vol. iii. col. 124. Ed.]

when he gave the sign of his body." "For we must not consider in sacraments (saith St Augustine in another place) what they be, but what they do signify. For they be signs of things, being one thing in themselves, and yet signifying another thing[1]." "For the heavenly bread (saith he), speaking of the sacramental bread, by some manner of speech is called Christ's body, when in very deed it is the sacrament of his body, &c."

Contra Maximinum, lib. ii. cap. 22.

What can be more plain or more clearly spoken, than are these places of St Augustine before rehearsed, if men were not obstinately bent to maintain an untruth, and to receive nothing, whatsoever doth set it forth? Yet one place more of St Augustine will I allege, which is very clear to this purpose, that Christ's natural body is in heaven, and not here corporally in the sacrament, and so let him depart. In his 51st Treatise, which he writeth upon John, he teacheth plainly and clearly, how Christ, being both God and man, is both here after a certain manner, and yet in heaven, and not here in his natural body and substance which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary, speaking thus of Christ, and saying, "[2]By his divine majesty, by his provi-

Aug. Tract. 51, in Johan. Evan. cap. 12.

[1] Hæc enim sacramenta sunt, in quibus non quid sint, sed quid ostendant semper adtenditur, quoniam signa sunt rerum, aliud existentia, aliud significantia. S. Aug. cont. Max. lib. II. c. 22. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. vol. viii. col. 725. Ed.]

[2] Accipiant hoc et boni, sed non sint soliciti; loquebatur enim de præsentiâ corporis sui. Nam secundum majestatem suam, secundum providentiam, secundum ineffabilem et invisibilem gratiam, impletur quod ab eo dictum est, "Ecce ego vobiscum sum usque in consummationem sæculi." Secundum carnem vero quam Verbum assumsit, secundum id quod de virgine natus est, secundum id quod a Judæis prehensus est, quod ligno confixus, quod de cruce depositus, quod linteis involutus, quod in sepulchro conditus, quod in resurrectione manifestatus, *non semper habebitis vobiscum*. Quare? Quoniam conversatus est secundum corporis præsentiam quadraginta diebus cum discipulis suis, et, eis deducentibus videndo, non sequendo, adscendit in cœlum, et non est hîc. Ibi est enim et sedet ad dexteram Patris, et *hic* est: non enim recessit præsentia majestatis. Aliter, secundum præsentiam majestatis, semper habemus Christum: secundum præsentiam carnis, rectè dictum est discipulis, "me autem non semper habebitis." Habuit enim illum Ecclesia secundum præsentiam carnis paucis diebus; modo fide tenet, oculis non videt. S. Aug. Tract LI. in Johan. Ev. c. 12. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1679, tom. iii. pars iii. col. 634. Ed.]

dence, by his unspeakable and invisible grace, that is fulfilled which he spake, 'Behold, I am with you unto the end of the world.' But as concerning his flesh which he took in his incarnation; as touching that which was born of the Virgin; as concerning that which was apprehended by the Jews, and crucified upon a tree, and taken down from the cross, wrapped in linen clothes, and buried, and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection; as concerning that flesh, he said, 'Ye shall not ever have me with you.' Why so? For, as concerning his flesh, he was conversant with his disciples forty days; and, they accompanying, seeing, and not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here. By the presence of his divine majesty, he did not depart; as concerning the presence of his divine majesty, we have Christ ever with us: but, as concerning the presence of his flesh, he said truly to his disciples, 'Ye shall not ever have me with you.' For, as concerning the presence of his flesh, the church had him but a few days: now it holdeth him by faith, though it see him not."

Thus much St Augustine speaketh, repeating one thing so often; and all to declare and teach how we should understand the manner of Christ's being here with us, which is by his grace, by his providence, and by his divine nature; and how he is absent by his natural body which was born of the Virgin Mary, died, and rose for us, and is ascended into heaven, and there sitteth, as it is in the articles of our faith, on the right hand of God, and thence, (and from none other place, saith St Augustine) he shall come on the latter day, to judge the quick and the dead. At the which day, the righteous shall then lift up their heads: and the light of God's truth shall so shine, that falsehood and errors shall be put unto perpetual confusion. Righteousness shall have the upper hand, and truth that day shall bear away the victory; and all the enemies thereof be quite overthrown, to be trodden under foot for evermore. O Lord, Lord, I beseech thee, hasten this day. Then shalt thou be glorified with the glory due unto thy holy name and unto thy divine majesty; and we shall sing unto thee, in all joy and felicity, laud and praise for evermore. Amen.

Here now would I make an end: for methinks St Augus-

tine is in this matter so full and plain, and of that authority, that it should not need, after this his declaration, being so firmly grounded upon God's word, and so well agreeing with other ancient authors, to bring in for the confirmation of this matter any more. And yet I said, I would allege three of the Latin church, to testify the truth in this cause. Now, therefore, the last of all shall be Gelasius, which was a bishop of Rome; but one that was bishop of that see, before the wicked usurpation and tyranny thereof spread abroad and burst out into all the world. For this man was before Bonifacius, yea, and Gregory the First, in whose days both corruption of doctrine and tyrannical usurpation did chiefly grow, and had the upper hand.

Gelasius.

Gelasius, in an epistle of the two natures of Christ, (*contra Eutychen,*) writeth thus: "The sacraments of the body and blood of Christ, which we receive, are godly things, whereby, and by the same, we are made partakers of the divine nature; and yet, nevertheless, the substance or nature of the bread and wine doth not depart or go away[1]." Note these words, I beseech you; and consider, whether any thing can be more plainly spoken, than these words against the error of transubstantiation; which is the ground and bitter root, whereupon spring all the horrible errors before rehearsed.

Wherefore, seeing that the falsehood hereof doth appear so manifestly and by so many ways, so plainly, so clearly, and so fully, that no man needeth to be deceived, but he that will not see, or will not understand; let us all that do love the truth embrace it, and forsake the falsehood. For he that loveth the truth is of God: and the lack of the love thereof is the cause why God suffereth men to fall into errors, and to perish therein; yea, and, as St Paul saith, why he sendeth unto them illusions, that they believe lies, unto

[1 Certe sacramenta, quæ sumimus, corporis et sanguinis Christi, divina res est; propter quod et per eadem, divinæ efficimur consortes naturæ: et tamen esse non desinit substantia vel natura panis et vini; et certe imago et similitudo corporis et sanguinis Christi in actione mysteriorum celebrantur. Gelasii Op. adv. Eutych. et Nest. de duab. Christ. Natur. in Bibliotheca Patrum, Colon. 1618. Sec. v. Part III. p. 671. Ed.]

their own condemnation: "because (saith he) they loved not the truth."

This truth, no doubt, is God's word: for Christ himself saith unto his Father, "Thy word is truth." The love and light whereof Almighty God our heavenly Father give us, and lighten it in our hearts by his holy Spirit, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. John xvii.

Vincet Veritas.

A

PITEOUS LAMENTATION

OF THE MISERABLE ESTATE

OF THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND,

IN THE TIME OF THE LATE REVOLT
FROM THE GOSPEL.

WRITTEN BY

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

A PITVOVS LAMENTATION OF THE MISERABLE ESTATE OF THE CHVRCHE

of Christ in Englande, in the time of queene Mary, wherein is conteyned a learned comparison betwene the comfortable doctryne of the gospell, and the traditions of the poppyshe religion; with an instruction howe the true Chrystian oughte to behaue himselfe in the tyme of tryall—wrytten by that worthy martyr of God Nicolas Rydley, late Byshoppe of London.

Neuer before this tyme imprynted.

Perused and allowed according to the Quenes Maiesties Iniunctions.

A

LAMENTATION OF THE CHURCH.

Alas! what misery is thy church brought unto, O Lord, at this day! Where of late the word of the Lord was truly preached, was read and heard in every town, in every church, in every village; yea, and almost every honest man's house; alas! now it is exiled, and banished out of the whole realm. Of late, who was not glad to be taken for a lover of God's word, for a reader, for a ready hearer, and for a learner of the same? And now, alas, who dare bear any open countenance towards it, but such as are content in Christ's cause, and for his word's sake, to stand to the danger and loss of all that they have? The state of the church of England described and lamented.

Of late there was to be found, of every age, of every degree and kind of people, that gave their diligence to learn, as they could, out of God's word the articles of the Christian faith, the commandments of God, and the Lord's prayer. The babes and young children were taught these things of their parents, of their masters, and weekly of their curates, in every church: and the aged folk, which had been brought up in blindness, and in ignorance of those things which every Christian is bound to know, when otherwise they could not, yet they learned the same, by often hearing their children and servants repeating the same; but now, alas, and alas again, the false prophets of Antichrist, which are past all shame, do openly preach in pulpits unto the people of God, that the catechism is to be counted heresy: whereby their old blindness is brought home again; for the aged are afraid of the higher powers, and the youth is abashed and ashamed, even of that which they have learned, though it be God's word, and dare no more meddle.

Of late in every congregation throughout all England was made prayer and petition unto God, to be delivered

from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities[1]; from all false doctrine and heresy: and now, alas! Satan hath persuaded England, by his falsehood and craft, to revoke her old godly prayer, to recant the same, and provoke the fearful wrath and indignation of God upon her own pate.

The lamentable change of religion in the church.

Of late by strait laws and ordinances, with the consent of the nobles and commonality, and full agreement and council of the prelates and clergy, was banished hence the beast of Babylon, with laws (I say), and with oaths and all means that then could be devised for so godly a purpose: but now, alas! all these laws are trodden under foot: the nobles, the commonality, the prelates, and clergy, are quite changed; and all those oaths, though they were herein made in judgement, justice, and truth, and the matter never so good, doth no more hold than a bond of rushes, or of a barley straw; nor public perjury no more feareth them, than a shadow upon the wall.

Jerem. iv.

Of late it was agreed in England of all hands, according to Paul's doctrine and Christ's commandment, as Paul saith plain, that nothing ought to be done in the church, in the public congregation, but in that tongue which the congregation could understand, that all might be edified thereby, whether it were common prayer, administration of the sacraments, or any other thing belonging to the public ministry of God's holy and wholesome word: but, alas! all is turned upside down, Paul's doctrine is put apart, Christ's commandment is not regarded: for nothing is heard commonly in the church, but in a strange tongue, that the people doth nothing understand.

1 Cor. xiv.

Ignorance in prayer.

Of late all men and women were taught, after Christ's doctrine, to pray in that tongue which they could understand, that they might pray with heart that which they should speak with their tongue: now, alas! the unlearned people is brought in that blindness again, to think that they pray,

[1 In the Litany of Edward VI. occurs the Petition:

Priest. From all sedition and privy conspiracy, from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities; from all false doctrine, &c. &c.

Ans. Good Lord, deliver us. Ed.]

when they speak with their tongues, they cannot tell what, nor whereof their heart is nothing mindful at all, for that it can understand never a whit thereof.

Abuse in the Lord's Supper.

Of late the Lord's supper was duly ministered and taught to be made common to all that were true Christians, with thanksgiving and setting forth of the Lord's death and passion, until his returning again to judge both quick and dead: but now, alas! the Lord's table is quite overthrown, and that which ought to be common to all godly, is made private to a few ungodly, without any kind of thanksgiving, or any setting forth of the Lord's death at all, that the people is able to understand.

The sacrament turned out of his right use and kind.

Of late all that were endued with the light and grace of understanding of God's holy mysteries, did bless God, which had brought them out of that horrible blindness and ignorance, whereby in times past being seduced by Satan's subtilties, they believed that the sacrament was not the sacrament, but the thing itself whereof it is a sacrament; that the creature was the Creator; and that the thing which hath neither life nor sense, (alas, such was the horrible blindness!) was the Lord himself; which made the eye to see, and hath given all senses and understanding unto man. But now, alas! England is returned again like a dog to her own vomit and spewing, and is in a worse case than ever she was: for it had been better never to have known the truth, than to forsake the truth once received and known: and now, not only that light is turned into darkness, and God's grace is received in vain; but also laws of death are made by high court of Parliament, masterfully to maintain by sword, fire, and all kind of violence, that heinous idolatry, wherein that adoration is given unto the lifeless and dumb creature, which is only due unto the everliving God: yea, they say, they can and do make of bread both man and God by their transubstantiation. O! wicked invention, and Satan's own brood!

Idolatry in worshipping creatures for the Creator.

The cup debarred from the ministration of the Lord's Supper.

Of late was the Lord's cup at his table distributed, according to his own commandment by his express words in his Gospel, as well to the laity as to the clergy, which order Christ's church observed so many hundred years after, as all the ancient ecclesiastical writers do testify, without contradiction of any one of them, that can be shewed, unto

this day: but now, alas! not only the Lord's commandment is broken, his cup is denied to his servants, to whom he commanded it should be distributed, but also with the same is set up a new blasphemous kind of sacrifice, to satisfy and pay the price of sins, both of the dead and of the quick, to the great and intolerable contumely of Christ our Saviour, his death, and passion, which was and is the one only sufficient and everlasting available sacrifice, satisfactory for all the elects of God, from Adam the first to the last that shall be born in the end of the world.

Deut. v. Of late that commandment of God, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor any similitude or likeness of any thing in heaven above, or in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them," this commandment of God, I say, was graven[1] almost every where in churches, was learned of every body, both young and old; whereupon images that provoked the simple and ignorant people unto idolatry, as the wise man saith, were taken out of the churches, and straitly forbidden that none should any where either bow down to them, or worship them: but now, alas! God's holy word is blotted and razed out of churches, and stocks and stones are set up in the place thereof. God commanded his word so to be ordered, that it might be had in continual remembrance at all times, and in every place; and on the other side he forbad images and idols, so to be either made or set in any place, where any should bow or worship them: but now, alas! that which God commanded is not passed upon[2], and that which he forbiddeth is masterfully maintained by falsehood and craft, and wickedly upholden.

Idolatry in stocks and stones.

Of late all ministers that were admitted to the public office and ministry of God's holy word, in their admission made a solemn profession before the congregation, that they should teach the people nothing, as doctrine necessary to

[1 "Graven almost every where in churches." In the reign of king Edward VI. texts of Scripture were painted in most of the churches, particularly the second commandment, and 1 John v. 21, "Babes, keep yourselves from images." On the accession of Queen Mary these texts were erased. Ed.]

[2 Regarded. Ed.]

attain eternal salvation, but that which is God's own holy word, or may be thereof grounded without any doubt, whereby vanished and melted away of themselves many vain, yea, wicked traditions of man, as wax before the fire: but now at one brunt they are revived, and are in full hope all to return again, in as great strength as ever they have been. And how can any man look for any other thing, but when you have received the head, you must also receive the whole body withal; or else how can the head abide? The head, under Satan, of all mischief is Antichrist and his brood; and the same is he which is the Babylonical beast. The beast is he whereupon the whore sitteth. The whore is that city, saith John in plain words, which hath empire over the kings of the earth. This whore hath a golden cup of abominations in her hand, whereof she maketh to drink the kings of the earth, and of the wine of this harlot all nations hath drunk; yea, and kings of the earth have lain by this whore; and merchants of the earth, by virtue of her pleasant merchandise, have been made rich.

The whore of Babylon with her cup of abominations expounded. Apoc. xvii.

Now what city is there in the whole world, that when John wrote, ruled over the kings of the earth; or what city can be read of in any time, that of the city itself challenged the empire over the kings of the earth, but only the city of Rome, and that since the usurpation of that See hath grown to her full strength? And is it not read, that old and ancient writers understood Peter's former Epistle to be written at Rome, and it to be called of him in the same Epistle, in plain terms, Babylon! By the abominations thereof, I understand all the whole trade of the Romish religion, under the name and title of Christ, which is contrary to the only rule of all true religion, that is, God's word. What word of God hath that devilish drab, for the maintenance of her manifold abominations, and to set to sale such merchandise, wherewith, (alas, the madness of man!) the wicked harlot hath bewitched almost the whole world? Did not Peter, the true Apostle of Christ (of whom this stinking strumpet beareth herself so high, but falsely and without all just cause), did not he, I say, give all the world warning of her pelf and trash, of her false doctors and apostles (for this whore and beast will be called *Dominus Apostolicus*, whosoever say nay), after this

2 Pet. ii. manner in his latter Epistle? "There were among the people in times past false prophets, as there shall be also among you, in time to come, false teachers, which shall privily bring in pestilent sects, even denying the Lord which hath bought them, and redeemed them, procuring to themselves swift damnation; and many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be railed upon, and through covetousness by counterfeit tales or sermons, they shall, saith Peter, make merchandise upon you, &c." And doth not John likewise in his Revelation, after he hath reckoned up a great rabblement of this whore's mystical merchandise, at the last (as though he would knit up all in plain words, without any mist at all, setting out the whore's merchandise) reckon up among the rest, and concludeth saying, *et animas hominum*, "and the souls of men too?" Whereupon I pray you else rose this true proverb, *Omnia Romæ venalia*, "All things for money are set to sale at Rome?" Was not that a worthy commendation of Christ's vicar in earth, that was written of our holy father, one of the Alexanders, a bishop of Rome, thus I ween in Latin:

All things at Rome for money.

Vendit Alexander claves, altaria, Christum;
Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.

These two verses in Latin, I have read thus of one translated into English rhyme:

Verses against Pope Alexander VI.

Alexander our holy father, the Pope of Rome,
Selleth for money both right and doom:
And to sale the holy father doth not stick to set
All kinds of holiness, ready money for to get:
And eke Christ himself he dare be bold,
To chop and change for silver and gold.
And why should any think this to be sore?
For what doth he sell, but that he bought before?

I grant these verses to be light gear, and the verse is but rude; but, alas! such conditions were more wicked and lewd than any wit could express. If these had been but the faults of one or a few in number, they had been less pernicious, and might have been taken for personal crimes, not to be imputed unto that See: but now, alas, the matter is more than evident to all that hath godly understanding, that these crimes be grounded upon laws, be es-

tablished by custom, and set forth by all kind of wicked doctrine, falsehood, and craft: and therefore are not now to be esteemed for any one man's or of a few men's personal crimes, but are now by laws, custom, and doctrine, incorporated into that wicked See; and maketh indeed the body of the beast, whereupon the abominable whore doth sit.

But you would know, which be those merchandise, which I said this whore setteth forth to sell, for the which all her false prophets, with all their jugglings and crafty gloses, cannot bring one jot of God's word. Surely, surely, they be not only all these abominations which are come into the church of England already (whereof I have spoken somewhat before), but also an innumerable rabblement of abominations and wicked abuses, which now must needs follow: as Popish pardons, pilgrimages, Romish purgatory, Romish masses, *placebo et dirige*, with trentals, and *scala cœli*, dispensations and immunities from all godly discipline, laws, and good order, pluralities, unions, *tot quots*, with a thousand more[1].

Abominations and wicked abuses of the See of Rome declared.

Now shall come in the flattering friars, and the false pardoners, and play their old pranks and knavery; as they were wont to do. Now you shall have (but of the See of Rome only, and that for money) canonizing of such saints as have stood stout in the Pope's cause, shrining of relics, and from any kind of wickedness, if you will pay well for it, clear absolution, *a pœna et culpa*, with thousands of years; yea, at every poor bishop's hands and suffragan, ye shall have hallowing of churches, chapels, altars, superaltars, chalices, and of all the whole household stuff and adornment, which shall be used in the church after the Romish guise; for all these things must be esteemed of such high price, that they may not be done, but by a consecrate bishop only. O Lord, all these things are such as thy Apostles never knew. As for conjuring (they call it hallowing, but it is conjuring indeed) of water and salt, of christening of bells[2] and such like light things, what need I to speak? For every priest that can but read, hath power, they say, not only

[1 *Placebo, dirige, etc.* See note C. at the end of the volume. Ed.]

[2 The forms for these and other offices may be found in the Rituale Romanum. Ed.]

to do that, but also hath such power over Christ's body, as to make God and man, once at the least every day, of a wafer-cake[1].

After the rehearsal of the said abominations, and remembrance of a number of many more, which, the Lord knoweth, irketh me to think upon, and were too long to describe; when I consider on the other side the eternal word of God, that abideth for ever, and the undefiled law of the Lord, which turneth the soul from all wickedness, and giveth wisdom unto the innocent babes; I mean that milk that is without all guile, as Peter doth call it, that good word of God, that word of truth, which must be graven within the heart, and then is able to save men's souls; that wholesome seed, not mortal but immortal, of the eternal and everliving God, whereby the man is born anew, and made the child of God; that seed of God, whereby the man of God, so being born, cannot sin, as John saith (he meaneth, so long as that seed doth abide in him); that holy Scripture which hath not been devised by the wit of man, but taught from heaven by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which is profitable to teach, to reprove, to correct, to instruct, and give order in all righteousness, that the man of God may be whole and sound, ready to perform every good work; when, I say, I consider this holy and wholesome true word, that teacheth us truly our bounden duty towards our Lord God in every point, what his blessed will and pleasure is, what his infinite great goodness and mercy is, what he hath done for us, how he hath given his own only dear beloved to death for our salvation, and by him hath sent us the revelation of his blessed will and pleasure; what his eternal word willeth us both to believe and also to do, and hath for the same purpose inspired the holy Apostles with the Holy Ghost, and sent them abroad into all the world, and also made them, and other disciples of Christ, inspired by the same Spirit, to write and leave behind them the same things that they taught, which as they did proceed of the Spirit of truth, so by the confession of all them that ever were endued with the Spirit of God, were sufficient to the obtaining of eternal sal-

The true word of God, and the office of the same declared.

[1] A priest of the Roman church may perform mass once a day only, and then fasting. Ed.]

vation: and likewise when I consider that all that man doth profess in his regeneration when he is received into the holy catholic church of Christ, and is now to be accounted for one of the lively members of Christ's own body, all that is grounded upon God's holy word, and standeth in the profession of that faith, and obedience of those commandments, which are all contained and comprised in God's holy word: and furthermore, when I consider whom our Saviour Christ pronounceth in his Gospel to be blessed, and to whom Moses giveth his benedictions in the law; what ways the law, the Prophets, the Psalms, and all holy Scriptures, both new and old, do declare to be the ways of the Lord; what is good for man to obtain and abide in God's favour; which is that faith that justifieth before God; and what is that charity, that doth pass and excel all; which be the properties of heavenly wisdom; and which is that undefiled religion that is allowed of God; which things Christ himself calleth the weighty matters of the law; what thing is that which is only available in Christ; and what knowledge is that, that Paul esteemed so much, that he counted himself only to know; what shall be the manner of the extreme judgment of the later day; who shall judge, and by what he shall judge; and what shall be required at our hands at that fearful day; how all things must be tried by the fire, and that that only shall stand for ever, which Christ's word shall allow, which shall be the judge of all flesh, to give sentence upon all flesh, and every living soul, either of eternal damnation or everlasting salvation, from which sentence there shall be no place to appeal, no wit shall serve to delude, nor no power to withstand or revoke: when, I say, I consider all these things, and confer to the same again and again all those ways wherein standeth the substance of the Romish religion, whereof I spake before; it may be evident and easy to perceive, that these two ways, these two religions, the one of Christ, the other of the Romish See, in these latter days, be as far distant the one from the other, as light and darkness, good and evil, righteousness and unrighteousness, Christ and Belial. He that is hard of belief, let him note and weigh well with himself the places of holy Scriptures, which be appointed in the margent where-

Note here, that these scriptures were written by N. Ridley in the margent, but were not in the copy which we followed. [Ed. 1556. Ed.]

upon this talk is grounded, and by God's grace he may receive some light. And unto the contemner I have nothing now to say, but to rehearse the saying of the Prophet Esay, which Paul spake to the Jews in the end of the Acts of the Apostles. After he had expounded unto them the truth of God's word, and declared unto them Christ, out of the law of Moses and the Prophets, from morning to night, all the day long, he said unto them that would not believe: "Well," said he, "spake the Holy Ghost unto our fathers, saying: Go unto this people and tell them, ye shall hear with your ears, and not understand, and seeing you shall behold, and not see the thing; for the heart of this people is waxed gross or dull, and with their ears they are hard of hearing, and they have shut together their eyes, that they should not see, nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts, that they might return, and I should heal them, saith the Lord God[1]."

Alas! England, alas! that this heavy plague of God should fall upon thee. Alas! my dear beloved country, what thing is it now that may do thee good? Undoubtedly thy plague is so great, that it is utterly uncurable, but by the bottomless mercy and infinite power of Almighty God. Alas! my dear country, what hast thou done, that thus thou hast provoked the wrath of God, to pour out his vengeance upon thee for thine own deserts? Canst thou be content to hear thy faults told thee? Alas! thou hast heard oft, and wouldest never amend. England, thy faults of all degrees and sorts of men, of the magistrates, of the ministers, and of the common people, were never more plainly told, since thou bearest that name, than thou didst hear them of late, even before the magistrates, in King Edward's days, but thou heardest them only, and didst amend never a whit. For even of thy greatest magistrates, some (the King's Highness then, that innocent, that godly-hearted and peerless young Christian Prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungently, against those that went about most busily and most wholesomely to cure their sore backs, spurned privily, and would not spare to speak evil of them, even unto the prince himself, and yet

[1 The texts are—Is. vi. 9; Mark iv. 12; Acts xxviii. 25, 26, 27. Ed.]

would they towards the same preacher outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

He meaneth himself. Cranmer and Ridley standing in the Duke of Somerset's cause. Cranmer repugning against the spoil of the church goods. Latimer, Bradford, Lever, Knox.

I have heard that Cranmer, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully, in the Duke of Somerset's cause, and both of late, but specially Cranmer, for repugning as they might against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request of consent of them to whom they did belong. As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged them, no doubt, of that filthy matter, that was festered in their hearts, of insatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's word, that these men, of all other, these magistrates then could never abide. Other there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plasters of God's word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but, alas! all sped in like. For all that could be done of all hands, their disease did not minish, but daily did increase, which, no doubt, is no small occasion in that state, of the heavy plague of God, that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior magistrates, as judges of the laws, justices of peace, serjeants, common lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the clergy, of curates, vicars, parsons, prebendaries, doctors of the law, archdeacons, deans, yea, and I may say, of bishops also, I fear me, for the most part, although I doubt not but God had and hath ever, whom he in every state knew and knoweth to be his, but for the most part, I say, they were never persuaded in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the king's sake, in the truth of God's word; and yet all these did dissemble, and bear a copy of a countenance, as if they had been sound within.

The corrupt life of gospellers in King Edward's time.

And this dissimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired, and hath ever gone about, that the high magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of religion; for then he being of counsel with the

dissimulation in the worldly, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocrisy a double evil.

Hypocrisy and dissimulation St Hierom doth call well a double wickedness, for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil), and also falsely it pretendeth, to deceive the simple, for another thing[1]. This hypocrisy and dissimulation with God in matters of religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught; yet, God knoweth a great number received God's true word and high benefits with unthankful hearts. For it was great pity and a lamentable thing, to have seen in many places the people so loathsomely and so unreligiously to come to the holy communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the common prayers, and other divine service, which were according to the true vein of God's holy word in all points so godly and wholesomely set forth, in comparison of that blind zeal and indiscreet devotion, which they had aforetimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

The slackness that was in that time to good works.

And again, as for alms deeds, which are taught in God's word (whereby we are certain that God is pleased with them, and doth and will require such at our hands, which are a part of true religion, as St James saith, and such as he saith himself he setteth more by than by sacrifice, as to provide for the fatherless, infants and orphans, for the lame, aged, and impotent poor needy folk, and to make public provision that the poverty that might labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so be kept from shameful beggary and stealing), in these works, I say, how wayward were many, in comparison (I mean) of that great prodigality, whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering friars, false pardoners, painting and gilding of stocks and stones, to be set up and honoured in churches, plainly against God's word. And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, (*in*) London, I must confess, that such godly works, in Sir Richard Dobs, knight, then lord mayor, his year, began marvellous well: the Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yea,

[1] And it deceiveth the people, which is another evil. Ed.]

and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun. Amen.

All these things do minister matter of more mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is; for by this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared that those good things, whatsoever they were, that had their beginning in the time when God's word was freely preached, now with the exile and banishment of the same they will depart again.

God's plague upon England justly deserved.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christ's church in England, and to leave further and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto God's secret and unsearchable judgments, let us see what is best now to be done for Christ's little [2]silly flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christ's law: "He that denieth me before men, him shall Christ deny afore his Father, and all his angels of heaven." And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour everlasting life, let him prepare himself so, that he deny not his master Christ, or else he is but a castaway and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the world.

He exhorteth to constant confession of Christ.

Now then, seeing the doctrine of Antichrist is returned again into this realm, and the higher powers (alas!) are so deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be truth, and Christ's true doctrine to be error and heresy, and the old laws of Antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their father again; what can be hereafter looked for by reason, to the man of God and true Christian abiding in this realm, but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the hearts of princes are in God's hands, and whithersoever he will, he can make them to bow; and also that Christian princes in old time used a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their rooms and offices; exile and banishment out of their dominions and countries; and also (as it is read) the true bishops of Christ's church were sometime intercessors for the heretics unto princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of

Punishment of heretics more gentle in the old time, and how it was used.

[2] See page 6, foot-note. Ed.]

St Augustine. But as yet Antichrist's kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed so to order them, that will not fall down and worship the beast and his image; but even as all the world knoweth, after the same manner that both John and Daniel hath prophesied before, that is, by violence of death: and Daniel declareth farther, the kind of death accustomably should be by sword, fire, and imprisonment.

Therefore if thou, O man of God, do purpose to abide in this realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by Antichrist's accustomable laws, and these prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss at the last, both of body and soul, unto everlasting death. Therefore, my good brother or sister in Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and mayest so do, that counsel that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy body, and most surety for thy soul's health, is that which I shall shew thee hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me, to speak to him or her which be not in captivity, or called already for to confess Christ, but is at liberty abroad.

Counsel given in these days of persecution what to do.

My counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from the plague, and to get thee hence. I consider not only the subtleties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions, if it were possible, even the chosen of God, and also the great frailty, which is oftentimes more in a man, than he doth know in himself, which in the time of temptation then will utter itself—I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian man's life, that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the country or place.

Such as remained out of captivity, counselled to depart the realm.

Paul likewise, when he was sought in Damascus, and the gates of the city were laid in wait for him, he was conveyed by night, let down in a basket out at a window over the wall: and Helias, the Prophet, fled the persecution of wicked Jezabel. And Christ our Saviour saith in the Gospel, "When they persecute you in one city, flee unto another:" and so did many good, great, learned, and virtuous men of God, which were great and stout champions nevertheless, and stout

confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of such was the great clerk Athanasius. But this is so plain to be lawful by God's word, and examples of holy men, that I need not to stand in it.

Having this for my ground, I say to thee, O man of God, this seemeth to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard, to depart and flee far from the plague, and that swiftly also: for truly, before God, I think that the abomination that Daniel prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all Antichrist's doctrine, laws, rites, and religion, contrary to Christ, and of the true serving and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination: therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, *Tunc, inquit, qui in Judea sunt fugiant ad montes.* "Now then," saith Christ, "let those that be in Judea fly to the mountains." "Then," saith he,—mark this Christ's "*then*"; for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this "then" is commanded—"*then*, saith Christ, they that be in Jewry, let them flee into the mountains, and he that is on the house-top, let him not come down to take away any thing out of his house; and he that is abroad in the field, let him not return to take his clothes. Woe be to the great-bellied women, and to them that give suck! but pray, saith Christ, that your flight be not in winter, or on the Sabbath-day."

The abomination of desolation set up in England.

These words of Christ are mystical, and therefore have need of interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his word, after the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ. Such are they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the reign of Antichrist's abominations, to fly unto the mountains: which signifieth places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague: that he biddeth him that is on the house-top, not come down; nor him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his clothes—he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away betimes, lest in their tarrying, and trifling about worldly provision, they be trapped in the snare or ever they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of small worldly things endanger and cast themselves into great perils

Christ commandeth to fly to the mountains.

of more weighty matters. And where he saith, Woe be to great-bellied women, and to them that give suck; women great with child, and nigh to their lying down and to be brought to bed, are not able to travel: nor also those women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck. By these therefore Christ spiritually understandeth all such as be in extreme danger, which this word "woe" signifieth: all such, I say, as are so letted by any manner of means, that they no ways be able to fly from the plague. That which Christ saith, "Pray you that your flight be not in the winter, nor on the Sabbath-day:" in winter, the common course of the year teacheth us, that the ways be foul, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey, for many incommodities and dangers of the ways in that time of the year; and on the Sabbath-day it was not lawful to journey but a little way. Now Christ therefore, meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in the winter, for the incommodities of the ways, and also to go far, which cannot be done on the Sabbath-day; he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in winter, nor on the Sabbath-day: that is, to pray that we may fly in time, and also far enough from the danger of the plague. Now the causes why we should fly followeth
Matt. xxiv. in the same place of St Matthew's Gospel, which I now pass over: thou mayest read them there.

Apoc. xviii. And in the eighteenth chapter of the Revelation, the angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice: "Fly, my people, out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they swell and are come unto the heaven: certainly the time doth approach, and the Lord's day is at hand." Hear, I beseech you, also holy Paul, that blessed Apostle: he plainly forbiddeth us *ducere jugum cum incredulis*, that is, to join or couple our-
2 Cor. vi. selves with the unfaithful; "for what fellowship can there be," saith he, "of righteousness with unrighteousness; what company hath light with darkness; or what agreement hath Christ with Belial; or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful; or how doth the temple of God agree with images or idols? for you are the temple of the living God:

as God hath said, I will walk and dwell in them; I will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, saith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your father, and you shall be unto me as my sons and daughters, saith the Almighty Lord."

This counsel to depart the realm, I do not marvel if it do seem to divers (even of them, I mean, that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many, I trust, that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be peradventure, that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable, and that it may be indeed by God's word lawfully done, rather than to be counselled to be done; for they will peradventure say, we should counsel a man always to do that, which is best of all and of most perfection: but boldly in Christ's cause to spend a man's life is best of all and of most perfection, and to fly it may seem to smell of cowardness. In many things, that which is best for one at some times is not best for all at all times; and it is not most perfection, nor meet for a child to covet to run before he can go. I will not here make a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered again: I leave that to the witty and eloquent men of the world.

Counsel to depart the realm. Doubts whether to fly or to tarry debated.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldest know, O man of God, as I would wish; and I do pray to Almighty God it may be, that every true Christian, either brother or sister (after they be called, and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christ's cause for the best game, that is, to confess the truth of the Gospel and of the Christian faith, in hope of everlasting life), should not shrink, not relent one inch, or give back, whatsoever shall befall, but stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ shall stick by them at the latter day: so likewise, I dare not wish nor counsel any, either brother or sister, of their own swing to start up into the stage, or to cast themselves either before or farther in danger than time and need shall require. For undoubtedly when God seeth his time, and his pleasure is, that his glory shall be set forth and his church edified by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his fatherly universal Providence, that thou, without thine

Presumptuous provocation, and rash running into danger, forbidden.

own presumptuous provocation, shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat and to play thy part. The miserable end that one Quintus came unto, may be a warning and a fearful example, for all men to beware of presumption and rashness in such things, as Eusebius writeth in Eccles. Historia, for evermore.

Euseb. Eccles. His. Lib. iv. Cap. 15.

But a third sort of men there be, which also will be counted favourers of God's word, and are, I fear, in number far more, and worse to be persuaded to that which is the godly mean: I mean, of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former counsel, which was to flee the infection of the antichristian doctrine by departure out of the realm, is more than needeth, and other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the foresaid plague. If that could be found indeed truly agreeable to God's word, I would be as glad to hear it, God is my witness, as who is the other. Yes, peradventure, will some say, thus it may be. Thou mayest keep thyself, thy faith, and thy religion close to thyself, and inwardly and privately worship God in spirit and truth, and outwardly see thou be no open meddler, nor talker, nor transgressor of common order: so mayest thou be suffered in the commonwealth, and yet use thy religion without offence of thy conscience. In other countries somewhere this peradventure might be used: but in England what shall be, God wot; but it was never yet, so far as ever I have known or heard. And also how can it be, but either thou must transgress the common order, and the Romish laws and customs, which have been used in England in the times past of Popery, and now, it is certain, they return again: I say, thou must either be a breaker of these rites, laws and customs, and so bewray thyself; or else if thou be indeed a man of God, thou shalt offend thy conscience; for in observing of them, thou shalt be compelled to break God's law, which is the rule of conscience to the man of God. For how canst thou resort every holy day to the church, and bear a face to worship the creature for the Creator, as thou must do, and peradventure confess it too with thy mouth, and to sprinkle thyself with their conjured water?

Conscience in religion would not be dissembled.

Thou must be contributor also to the charges of all their popery, as of books for Antichrist's service, of lights of the

roodloft, of the sepulchre, for setting up and painting of images, nay indeed of idols, and thou must bear a face to worship them also, or else thou must be had by the back[1]. Thou must serve the turn, to give the holy loaves, as they call it, which is nothing else but a very mockery of the Lord's holy table. Thou must be a contributor to the charges of all the disguised apparel, that the popish sacrificing priest, like unto Aaron, must play his part in. Yea, when the pardoner cometh about, or the flattering friar, to beg for the maintenance of superstition, except thou do as thy neighbours do, look not long for to live in rest. If any of the household die, if thou wilt not pay money for ringing and singing, for requiem, masses, dirige, and commendations, and such-like trumpery of the antichristian religion, thinkest thou that thou shalt be reckoned for a catholic man, or for *amicus Cæsaris?* A hundred things more may be reckoned, and many of more weight, and of more evident superstition and idolatry, than some of these which I have now rehearsed, which God knoweth be ill enough: but these are enough to declare, and to set before thine eyes the thing that I intend; that is, if thou abide and wilt dwell in England, thou must either do these, and many other more contrary to God's word, which forbiddeth not only the thing which is evil, but also saith, *ab omni specie mali abstinete vos*, "Abstain from all things that have any appearance of evil;" or else, if thou wilt not do them, how thou canst live in England in rest and safe from the stake, truly I cannot tell.

A hard dwelling in England for a good man, either without danger of conscience or peril of life.

But peradventure (as a man is ready to find and invent some colour to cloke his conscience, to do that thing that his heart desireth) thou wilt say, Though at any time I shall be forced to do any of these things and such-like, yet will I have no confidence in them, but outwardly with my body; I will keep mine heart unto God, and will not do that of mine own mind willingly, neither but to avoid another inconvenience: I trust therefore God will hold me excused, for he shall have my heart—what can I do more?

O my friend, beware for God's sake, and know that the subtleties of Satan are deep. He that is not able by God's word to perceive them, is heavily laden; pray therefore with

Invent not excuses to cloke sin.

[1] Be imprisoned. Ed.]

David: "Lord, let me not have a mind to invent excuses for to cloke my sin." Examine, my dear friend, these thy wily ways with the word of God, and if they do agree, thou mayest use them: if not, know, though they may seem never so fine and goodly, yet indeed they be of Satan's brood. God's word is certain, that forbiddeth to worship the creature for the Creator; for that is heinous idolatry, and against the first commandment of God. And it is also against the second commandment of the first table to bow down, or to do worship, unto any images of God or of any other thing: and God's word requireth not only the belief of the heart, but also the confession of the mouth. And to bear part of the charges to the maintenance of things ungodly, what is that but, in thy so doing, a consent to the thing done? Now consenters and the doers, God's word accounteth to be guilty both. And it is not lawful by St Paul's doctrine, which was inspired him by the Spirit of God, to do ill, that thereof the thing which is good may come.

Thy heart, thou sayest, God shall have, and yet wilt thou suffer thy body to do the thing that God doth abhor. Beware, O man; take heed what thou sayest. Man may be deceived, but no man may deceive God, for he is called, and is truly, καρδιογνώστης, that is to say, "the Searcher of the heart." Now, to give God thy heart is to give him thy whole heart, to love him, to dread him, and to trust in him above all other things. "He that hath my commandments," saith Christ, "and observeth and keepeth them, it is he that loveth me:" and to dread God above all other, is rather willingly to incur the danger and peril of all fearful things, than willingly to do that thing which is contrary to his blessed will and commandment; and to trust in him above all things, is assuredly to trust to his promise of his reward, and of his tuition, and of his goodness and mercy, and to prefer that above all things in the world, seem they never so strong, so wise, or so good. Now how canst thou say truly, that God hath thy heart after this manner of sort (which is to have thy heart indeed), when thy deeds do declare far another thing? Thy body, O man, is God's, and all the parts thereof, even as thy soul is; he made them both, and Christ with his blood hath redeemed them both, and is Lord of both, for he

To trust in God, what it is.

hath bought them both dear; and darest thou suffer any parts of either of them to do service to Satan? Surely in so doing, thou committest sacrilege and dost rob God; thou defilest the lively temple of the living God, if thou suffer 1 Cor. iii. thy body to do Satan service. "Do you not know, saith 1 Cor. vi. St Paul, that your body is a lively temple of God?" And may a man then take and use any part thereof but in the service of God? No surely, it is not lawful so to do for the man of God, neither with hand, tongue, nor foot, nor any part of the whole body.

Doth not Paul command to the Romans, which pertaineth to every Christian soul: "As you have in times past," saith Rom. vi. he, "given your members to do service unto uncleanness and wickedness, from one wickedness to another; so now give your members to do service unto righteousness, that you may be sanctified." And I pray thee, good brother, what dost thou think is to bear the mark of the beast in the forehead and in the hand, that St John speaketh of? I know we ought warily to speak of God's mysteries, which be shewed by the spirit of prophesying to his servant John; yet to read them with reverence, and to pray for the understanding of the same so much as God knoweth is necessary for our time to know, I think it necessary and good. Wherefore what I suppose is to bear the beast's mark, I will tell thee, and commit the judgment of mine interpretation, as in all other things, to the spiritual man. I suppose he beareth the beast To bear the beast's mark, what it is. of Babylon's mark in his forehead, which is not ashamed of the beast's ways, but will profess them openly to set forth his master the beast Abaddon. And likewise he beareth his Apoc. xiii. mark in his hand, that will and doth practise the works of the beast with his power and hand.

And likewise I will not let to tell thee, what I think to be signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whereof John also speaketh, reckoning up many thousands so to have been signed of every tribe: I suppose he is signed in the forehead for the servant of God, whom God hath appointed of his infinite goodness, and hath given him grace and strength, stoutly to confess him and his truth before the world. And to have grace and strength to confess Christ, and the doctrine of the cross, and to lament and mourn for the abo-

minations of antichrist, I suppose is to be signed with Tau[1], whereof Ezekiel the prophet doth speak. Thus I suppose these prophecies are spiritually to be understood: and to look for other corporal marks, to be seen in men's foreheads, or in their hands, is nothing else but to look that there should come some brute beast out of Babylon, or some elephant, leopard, lion, or camel, or some other such monstrous beast with ten horns, that should do all the wonderful things spoken in John; and yet of a beast speaketh John; but I understand him so to be called, not for that he shall be any such brute beast, but for that he is and shall be the child of perdition, which for his cruelty and beastly manners is well called a beast.

The literal taking of the Scriptures made the Jews infidels.

The carnal Jews knew there was a promise made, that Helias should come before Christ Messias, the anointed of God, to prepare his ways: they knew also that there was a promise of Messias, that he should come and be a king, and reign in the house of David for evermore; but they understanded all so grossly and so carnally, that they neither knew Helias nor Messias, when they came, for they looked for Helias to come down from heaven in his own person, and for Messias to come and reign in worldly pomp, power, riches, and glory: when as the prophecies of both were spiritually to have been understanded of Helias, that he should come not in person, but in spirit, that is, one which should be endued with the spirit and gifts of grace of Helias, which was indeed John Baptist, as Christ himself did declare to his Apostles. And of Messias' reign, all the Prophets were to be understanded of the reign of his spiritual kingdom over the house of Jacob and the true Israelites for evermore. And so by that their gross and carnal understanding, they mistake both Helias and the true Messias; and, when they came, knew neither of them both. So likewise I fear me (nay it is certain), the world that wanteth the light of the Spirit of God (for the world is not able to receive him, saith John) neither doth nor shall know the beast nor his marks, though he rage cruelly and live never so beastly, and though his marked men be in number like the sand of the sea. The

The pope's marked men.

[1 Tau, the letter Tau, or a cross, see Ezek. ix. and Rev. xiii. xiv. xx. Ed.]

Lord therefore vouchsafe to open the eyes of the blind with the light of grace, that they may see, and perceive, and understand the words of God, after the mind of his Spirit. Amen.

Here remaineth two objections, which may seem weighty, and the which may peradventure move many not to follow the former counsel. The former reason is, a man will say: "O, Sir, it is no small matter ye speak of, to depart from a man's own native country into a strange realm. Many men have so great lets, as how is it possible that they can or may do so? Some have lands and possessions, which they cannot carry with them: some have father, mother, wife, children, and kinsfolk, from whom to depart is as hard a thing, (and all one almost) as to suffer death, and to go to a strange country, that thou knowest not, neither the manner of the people, nor how thou mayest away either with the people or with the country. Oh! what a hard thing it is to live among a strange people, whose tongue thou dost not understand," &c. Carnal objections answered.

I grant here thou mayest heap a number of worldly incommodities, which are surely very like to ensue the departure out of a man's own native country—I mean out of the whole realm, into a strange land: but what of all these, and a thousand more of the like sort? I will set unto them one saying of our Saviour Christ, which unto the faithful child of God, and the true Christian, is able to countervail all these, yea, and to weigh them down. Christ our Saviour saith in Luke: "If any come to me, and do not hate his father and mother (he meaneth, and will not in his cause forsake his father and mother), his wife, children, and brethren, yea, and his life too, he cannot be my disciple: and whosoever doth not bear his cross and come after me, he cannot be my disciple." And in the same place he declareth by two parables, one of a builder, and the other of a king that is a warrior, that every man that will not in Christ's cause forsake all that ever he hath, he cannot be his disciple. Look the place who will: the matter is so plainly set forth, that no glosses nor cloaking of conscience to the man of God can serve to the contrary. Many places there be for the same purpose, for the embracing of Christ's cross, when Christ and his cause

layeth it upon our back: but this is so plain, that I need here to rehearse no more.

The latter reason and objection, whereof I spake before, is of more force, and includeth a necessity, which, after the common saying, hath no law, and therefore it is more hard to shape for it a good answer. This may be objected of some: "Alas! Sir, I grant all these things do grieve me, and because I understand they do not agree with God's word, which is the rule of my conscience, I loathe either to look on them or to hear them. But, Sir, alas! I am an impotent man, an aged man, a sick man, a lame man, or I have so many small infants and a lame wife, which all liveth by my labour and by my provision: if I leave them they shall starve, and I am not able to carry them with me, such is my state. Alas! Sir, what shall I do?" And these causes may chance to some men of God, whereby either it shall be for them utterly impossible to depart the country, or else in departing they shall be enforced to forsake such in extreme necessities, of whom both God and nature hath committed unto them the care.

Another worldly objection answered.

Alas! what counsel is here to be given? O lamentable state! O sorrowful heart! that neither can depart, and without extreme danger and peril is not able to tarry still! And these are they whom our Saviour Christ saw before should be, and called them in his prophecy of the latter time pregnant women or travailing women, and women that give, after they be brought to bed, their small babes suck. Of the state of such as are not able to fly the infection of the pestiferous plague of antichrist's abominations, Christ lamenting, and not cursing, saith: "Woe be to the pregnant women and travailing women, and women that give suck in those days!" For these, alas! my heart mourneth the more, the less I am able to give any comfortable counsel, but this, that always, as they look for everlasting life, they abide still in the confession of this truth, whatsoever shall befall; and for the rest to put their trust now wholly in God, which is able to save them against all appearance, and commonly in extremities, when all worldly comfort faileth, and the danger is at highest, then unto his he is wont, after his accustomed mercy, to be most ready for to put his helping hand. Daniel God suffered to

be cast into the den of lions, and the three children into the hot burning furnace, and yet he saved them all. Paul was plucked out of the mouth of the lion (as he saith of himself), and in Asia he was brought in such trouble, that he looked for no other thing but for present death; and yet He that raiseth the dead to life again, did bring him out of all his troubles, and taught him and all other that be in troubles for Christ's cause, not to trust to themselves, but in Almighty God.

Of God's gracious aid in extreme perils toward them that put their trust in him, all Scripture is full, both old and new. What dangers were the patriarchs often brought into, as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but of all other Joseph; and how mercifully were they delivered again! In what perils was Moses when he was fain to fly for the safeguard of his life! and when was he sent again to deliver the Israelites from the servile bondage? Not before they were brought into extreme misery. And when did the Lord mightily deliver his people from Pharaoh's sword? Not before they were brought in such straits, that they were so compassed on every side (the main sea on the one side, and the main host on the other), that they could look for none other, (yea, what did they else indeed look for then?) but either to have been drowned in the sea, or else to have fallen on the edge of Pharaoh his sword. Those judges which wrought most wonderful things in the delivery of the people, were ever given when the people were brought to most misery before, as Othoniel, Aioth[1], Sangar, Gedeon, Jephtha, Samson. And so was Saul endued with strength and boldness from above, against the Ammonites, Philistines, and Amalechites, for the defence of the people of God. David likewise felt God's help most sensibly ever in his extreme persecutions. What shall I speak of the Prophets of God, whom God suffered so oft to be brought into extreme perils, and so mightily delivered them again; as Helias, Hieremy, Daniel, Micheas, and Jonas, and many other, whom it were but too long to rehearse and set out at large? And did the Lord use his servants otherwise in the new law after Christ's incarnation? Read the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall see, no. Were not the

Examples of God's ready help in extreme perils.

[1 Ehud. Ed.]

Examples of God's deliverance.

Apostles cast into prison, and brought out by the mighty hand of God? Did not the angel deliver Peter out of the strong prison, and bring him out by the iron gates of the city, and set him free? And when, I pray you? Even the same night before Herod appointed to have brought him in judgment for to have slain him, as he had a little before killed James, the brother of John. Paul and Silas, when after they had been sore scourged, and were put into the inner prison, and there were laid fast in the stocks; I pray you, what appearance was there that the magistrates should be glad to come the next day themselves to them, to desire them to be content, and to depart in peace? Who provided for Paul, that he should be safely conducted out of all danger, and brought to Felix, the Emperor's deputy, when as both the high priests, the pharisees, and rulers of the Jews had conspired to require judgment of death against him, he being fast in prison, and also more than forty men had sworn each one to other, that they would never eat nor drink until they had slain Paul? A thing wonderful, that no reason could have invented, or man could have looked for: God provided Paul his own sister's son, a young man, that disappointed that conspiracy and all their former conjuration. The manner how the thing came to pass, thou mayest read in the twenty-third of the Acts; I will not be tedious unto thee here with the rehearsal thereof.

Now, to descend from the Apostles to the martyrs that followed next in Christ's church, and in them likewise to declare how gracious our good God ever hath been to work wonderfully with them which in his cause have been in extreme perils, it were a matter enough to write a long book. I will here name but one man and one woman, that is, Athanasius, the great clerk and godly man, stoutly standing in Christ's cause against the Arians; and that holy woman, Blandina, standing so constantly in all extreme pains, in the simple confession of Christ. If thou wilt have examples of more, look and thou shalt have both these and a hundred more in *Ecclesiastica Historia* of Eusebius, and in *Tripartita Historia*.

Lib. v. Cap. i.

Lib. iv. v. vi. ix. Trip. Lib. v.

But for all these examples, both of holy Scripture and of other histories, I fear me the weak man of God, encum-

bered with the frailty and infirmity of the flesh, will have now and then such thoughts and qualms (as they call them) to run over his heart, and to think thus: "All these things which are rehearsed out of the Scripture, I believe to be true, and of the rest truly I do think well, and can believe them also to be true: but all these we must needs grant were special miracles of God, which now in our days are ceased, we see, and to require them at God's hands, were it not to tempt God?"

God worketh great miracles in our time, although every man doth not see them.

Well-beloved brother, I grant such were great wonderful works of God, and we have not seen many of such miracles in our time, either for that our sight is not clear (for truly God worketh with his his part in all times), or else because we have not the like faith of them for whose cause God wrought such things, or because, after that he had set forth the truth of his doctrine by such miracles then sufficiently, the time of so many miracles to be done was expired withal. Which of these is the most special cause of all other, or whether there be any other, God knoweth: I leave that to God. But know thou this, my well-beloved in God, that God's hand is as strong as ever it was; he may do what his gracious pleasure is, and he is as good and gracious as ever he was. Man changeth as the garment doth; but God, our heavenly Father, is even the same now that he was, and shall be for evermore.

The world without doubt (this I do believe, and therefore I say) draweth towards an end, and in all ages God hath had his own manner, after his secret and unsearchable wisdom, to use his elect; sometimes to deliver them, and to keep them safe; and sometimes to suffer them to drink of Christ's cup, that is, to feel the smart, and to feel of the whip. And though the flesh smarteth at the one, and feeleth ease in the other, is glad of the one, and sore vexed in the other; yet the Lord is all one towards them in both, and loveth them no less when he suffereth them to be beaten, yea, and to be put to bodily death, than when he worketh wonders for their marvellous delivery. Nay, rather he doth more for them, when in anguish of the torments he standeth by them, and strengtheneth them in their faith, to suffer in the confession of the truth and his faith the bitter pangs

The Lord's favour no less in adversity than in prosperity.

of death, than when he openeth the prison-doors and letteth them go loose: for here he doth but respite them to another time, and leaveth them in danger to fall in like peril again; and there he maketh them perfect, to be without danger, pain, or peril, after that for evermore: but this his love towards them, howsoever the world doth judge of it, is all one, both when he delivereth and when he suffereth them to be put to death. He loved as well Peter and Paul, when (after they had, according to his blessed will, pleasure, and providence, finished their courses, and done their services appointed them by him here in preaching of his Gospel) the one was beheaded, and the other was hanged or crucified of the cruel tyrant Nero (as the ecclesiastical history saith), as when he sent the angel to bring Peter out of prison, and for Paul's delivery he made all the doors of the prison to fly wide open, and the foundation of the same like an earthquake to tremble and shake.

Thinkest thou, O thou man of God, that Christ our Saviour had less affection to the first martyr, Stephen, because he suffered his enemies, even at the first conflict, to stone him to death? No, surely: nor James, John's brother, which was one of the three that Paul calleth primates or principals amongst the Apostles of Christ. He loved him never a whit the worse than he did the other, although he suffered Herod the tyrant's sword to cut off his head. Nay, doth not Daniel say, speaking of the cruelty of Antichrist his time: *Et docti in populo docebunt plurimos, et ruent in gladio, et in flammâ, et in captivitate, et in rapinâ dierum, &c. Et de eruditis ruent, ut conflentur, et eligantur, et dealbentur, &c.* That is, "And the learned (he meaneth truly learned in God's law) shall teach many, and shall fall upon the sword, and in the flame (that is, shall be burnt in the flaming fire), and in captivity (that is, shall be in prison), and be spoiled and robbed of their goods for a long season." And after a little, in the same place of Daniel, it followeth: "And of the learned there be, which shall fall or be overthrown, that they may be known, tried, chosen, and made white"—he meaneth be burnished and scoured anew, picked and chosen, and made fresh and lusty. If that then was foreseen for to be done to the godly learned, and for so gracious causes, let every

Dan. xi.

one to whom any such thing by the will of God doth chance be merry in God and rejoice, for it is to God's glory and to his own everlasting wealth. Wherefore well is he that ever he was born, for whom thus graciously God hath provided, having grace of God, and strength of the Holy Ghost, to stand stedfastly in the height of the storm. Happy is he that ever he was born, whom God, his heavenly Father hath vouchsafed to appoint to glorify him, and to edify his church, by the effusion of his blood.

Martyrdom an high honour.

To die in Christ's cause is an high honour, to the which no man certainly shall or can aspire, but to whom God vouchsafeth that dignity; for no man is allowed to presume for to take unto himself any office of honour, but he which is thereunto called of God. Therefore John saith well, speaking of them which have obtained the victory by the blood of the Lamb, and by the word of his testimony, that they loved not their lives even unto death. Apoc. xii.

And our Saviour Christ saith: "He that shall lose his life for my cause shall find it." And this manner of speech pertaineth not to one kind of Christians (as the worldly do wickedly dream), but to all that do truly pertain unto Christ. For when Christ had called unto him the multitude together with his disciples, he said unto them (mark that he said not this to the disciples and Apostles only, but he said it to all), "Whosoever will follow me, let him forsake or deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me: for whosoever will save his life, shall lose it" (he meaneth whosoever will, to save his life, both forsake or leave him and his truth); "and whosoever shall lose his life for my cause and the Gospel's sake, shall save it: for what shall it profit a man if he shall win the whole world and lose his own soul, his own life? or what shall a man give to recompense that loss of his own life and of his own soul?" "Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and my words (that is, to confess me and my Gospel) before this adulterous and sinful generation, of him shall the Son of man be ashamed, when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels." Know thou, O man of God, that all things are ordained for thy behoof, and to the furtherance of thee towards thy salvation. "All things," saith Paul, "worketh with the good to goodness,"

even the enemies of God; and such kind of punishments whereby they go about to destroy them, shall be forced by God's power, might, and fatherly providence, for to do them service.

It is not as the wicked thinketh, that poverty, adversity, sickness, tribulation, yea, painful death of the godly, be tokens that God doth not love them; but even clean the contrary, as all the whole course of Scripture doth evidently declare; for then he would never have suffered his most dear beloved, the patriarchs, to have had such troubles, his Prophets, his Apostles, his martyrs, and chief champions and maintainers of his truth and gospel, so cruelly of the wicked to have been murdered and slain: "of the which some were racked, as the Apostle saith, and would not be delivered, that they might receive a better resurrection. Some were tried by mockings and scourgings, yea moreover by bonds and imprisonment: they were stoned; they were hewn and cut asunder; they were tempted; they were slain with the sword; they wandered up and down in sheeps' skins and goats' skins, being forsaken, afflicted, and tormented; such men as the world was not worthy to have, wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in dens and caves of the earth. All these were approved by the testimony of faith, and received not the promise, because God did provide better for us, that without us they should not be consummated." They tarry now for us undoubtedly, longing for the day; but they are commanded to have patience; "yet," saith the Lord, "a little while," until the number of their fellow-servants be fulfilled, and of their brethren which are yet to be slain, as they were.

Heb. xi.

Now, thou, O man of God, for our Lord's sake, let us not, for the love of this life, tarry then too long, and be occasion of delay of that glorious consummation, in hope and expectation whereof they departed in the Lord, and the which also the living, endued with God's Spirit, ought so earnestly to desire and to groan for with all the creatures of God. Let us all with John, the servant of God, cry in our hearts unto our Saviour Christ, *Veni Domine Jesu*, "Come, Lord Jesu, come." For that when Christ, which is our life, shall be made manifest and appear with him in glory, then shall the

Apoc. xxii.

children of God appear what they be, even like unto Christ; for this our weak body shall be transfigurated and made like unto Christ's glorious body, and that by the power whereby he is able to subdue unto himself all things: then that which is now corruptible, shall be made incorruptible: that is now vile, shall then be made glorious; that is now weak, shall rise then mighty and strong; that is gross and carnal shall be made fine and spiritual; for then we shall see and have the unspeakable joy and fruition of the glorious majesty of our Lord, even as he is.

Who or what then shall let us to jeopardy,—to jeopardy?—yea, to spend this life, which we have here, in Christ's cause, in our Lord God his cause? O thou therefore, man of God, thou that art laden, and so letted like unto a woman with child, that thou canst not fly the plague; yet if thou lust after such things as I have spoken of, stand fast, whatsoever shall befall in thy Master's cause; and take this thy letting to fly for a calling of God to fight in thy Master Christ his cause. Of this be thou certain, they can do nothing unto thee, which thy Father is not aware of, or hath not foreseen before; they can do no more than it shall please him to suffer them to do for the furtherance of his glory, edifying of his church, and thine own salvation. Let them then do what they shall, seeing to thee, O man of God, all things shall be forced to serve, and to work with thee unto the best before God. O be not afraid, and remember the end.

Nothing happeneth without God's foresight.

All this which I have spoken for the comfort of the lamentable case of the man whom Christ calleth women with child, I mean to be spoken likewise to the captive and prisoner in God's cause: for such I count to be, as it were, already summoned and pressed to fight under the banner of the cross of Christ, and, as it were, soldiers allowed and taken up for the Lord's wars, to do to their Lord and Master good and honourable service, and to stick to him, as men of trusty service in his cause, even unto death; and to think their life lost in his cause is to win it in eternal glory for evermore.

Therefore now to conclude, and to make an end of this treatise, I say unto all that love God, our heavenly Father, that love Christ Jesus, our Redeemer and Saviour; that love

to follow the ways of the Holy Ghost, which is our Comforter and Sanctifier of all; unto all that love Christ's spouse and body, the true Catholic church of Christ, yea, that love life and their own soul's health; I say unto all these, Hearken, my dear brethren and sisters, all you that be of God, of all sorts, ages, dignities, or degree; hearken to the word of our Saviour Jesus Christ, spoken to his Apostles, and meant to all his, in Saint Matthew's Gospel: "Fear not them which kill the body, for they cannot kill the soul; but fear him more which may destroy, and cast both body and soul into hell fire. Are not two small sparrows sold for a mite, and one of them shall not fall or light upon the ground without your Father? all the hairs of your head be numbered. Fear them not, you are much more worth than are the little sparrows."—"Every one then that confesseth me before men, him shall I likewise confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, I shall deny him likewise before my Father which is in heaven."

Matt. x.

The Lord grant us therefore of his heavenly grace and strength, that here we may so confess him in this world, amongst this adulterous and sinful generation, that he may confess us again at the latter day, before his Father which is in heaven, to his glory and our everlasting comfort, joy, and salvation.

To our heavenly Father, to our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and to the Holy Ghost, be all glory and honour now and for ever. Amen.

Note.—[To the letters of Careless, which have the signatures following those of Ridley, i. e. beginning F. 1—the date 1556 is prefixed and this colophon is appended.

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Powell, dwellying in Fletestrete
at the sygne of the George,
near to Sainct Dunstans
Churche. Ed.]

A TREATISE

ON

THE WORSHIP OF IMAGES.

WRITTEN BY

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF LONDON.

[When any note is not enclosed in brackets and signed Ed. it is Ridley's own quotation, and merely removed from the text for the sake of uniformity. The Treatise itself was first published by Fox in his "Acts and Monuments." Ed.]

A TREATISE

OF

DR NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

IN THE NAME, AS IT SEEMETH, OF THE WHOLE CLERGY,

ADDRESSED TO KING EDWARD VI., CONCERNING IMAGES, THAT THEY ARE NOT TO BE SET UP NOR WORSHIPPED IN CHURCHES.

FIRST PART.

Certain reasons which move us that we cannot with safe consciences give our assents that the Images of Christ, &c., should be placed and erected in Churches.

First, the words of the commandment, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c. And the same is repeated more plainly, "Cursed is the man which maketh a graven or molten image, &c., and setteth it in a secret place, and all the people shall say, Amen."

Maledictus homo qui facit sculptile et conflatile, etc. et ponit illud in abscondito. Exod. xx. Deut. xxvii.

In the first place, these words are to be noted: "Thou shalt not make to thyself;" that is, to any use of religion.

In the latter place, these words: "And setteth it in a secret place;" for no man then durst commit idolatry openly. So that, comparing the places, it evidently appears that images, both for use of religion and in place of peril[1] for idolatry, are forbidden.

God, knowing the inclination of man to idolatry, sheweth the reason why he made this general prohibition: "Lest peradventure thou, being deceived, shouldst bow down to them and worship them."

Ne forte errore deceptus adores ea et colas.

This general law is generally by all to be observed, notwithstanding that peradventure a great number cannot be hurt by them, which may appear by the example following.

[1] Placed where there is danger of their being worshipped. Ed.]

Deut. vii. Quia seducent filium tuum ne sequatur me.

God forbade the people to join their children in marriage with strangers, adding the reason: "For they will seduce thy son, that he shall not follow me."

Moses[1] was not deceived or seduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Boaz by Ruth, being a woman of Moab. And yet for all that, the general law was to be observed, "Thou shalt join no marriage with them." And so likewise, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c.

In Deuteronomy God gives a special charge to avoid images: "Beware that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God which he made with thee, and so make to thyself any graven image of anything which the Lord hath forbidden thee; for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God. If thou have children and nephews, and do dwell in the land, and, being deceived, make to yourselves any graven image, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger, I do this day call heaven and earth to witness that you shall quickly perish out of the land which you shall possess; you shall not dwell in it any longer, but the Lord will destroy you and scatter you amongst all nations."

Note what a solemn obtestation God useth, and what grievous punishments he threateneth to the breakers of the second commandment.

In the tabernacle and temple of God no image was by God appointed to be set openly, nor by practice afterwards used or permitted, so long as religion was purely observed; so that the use and execution of the law is a good interpreter of the true meaning of the same.

If, by virtue of the second commandment, images were not lawful in the temple of the Jews, then by the same commandment they are not lawful in the churches of the Christians. For being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial (for, by consent of writers, only a part of the precept of observing the Sabbath is ceremonial), it is a perpetual commandment, and bindeth us as well as the Jews.

The Jews by no means would consent to Herod, Pilate,

[1] It should be remembered that Moses acted previous to the promulgation of the law in question, and Boaz in obedience to a peculiar, and in his case superior one. Ed.]

or Petronius, that images should be placed in the temple of Jerusalem; but rather offered themselves to death than assent unto it: who, besides that they are commended by Josephus[2] for observing the meaning of the law, would not have endangered themselves so far, if they had thought images had been indifferent in the temple of God. For as St Paul saith, "What hath the temple of God to do with idols?"

Joseph. Antiq. lib. xvii. cap. 8; lib. xviii. cap. 3 and 11.

2 Cor. vi. Quid templum Dei cum simulacris?

God's Scripture in no place commends the use of images, but in a great number of places doth disallow and condemn them.

They are called, in the book of Wisdom, the trap and snare of the feet of the ignorant.

It is said, the invention of them was the beginning of spiritual fornication; and that they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end.

In the fifteenth chapter of the same book it is said, "Their pictures are a worthless labour." And again, "They are worthy of death that put their trust in them, that make them, that love them, and that worship them."

Umbra picturæ, labor sine fructu.

The Psalms and prophets are full of like sentences; and how can we then praise that which God's Spirit doth always dispraise?

Furthermore, an image made by a father, as appears in the same book[3], for the memorial of his son departed, was the first invention of images, and occasion of idolatry.

How much more, then, shall an image made in the memory of Christ, and set up in the place of religion, occasion the same offence? Images have their beginning from the heathen; and upon no good ground, therefore, can they be profitable to Christians. Whereunto Athanasius agrees, when writing of images against the Gentiles[5]: "The invention of images

Euseb. [4]Eccles. Histor. lib. vii. cap. 18.

[2 Ed. Genev. 1635, p. 596. 624. 640. Ed.]

[3] "Thus some parent mourning bitterly for a son who hath been taken from him, makes an image of his child; and him who before had been to his family as a dead man they now begin to worship as a god; rites and sacrifices being instituted to be observed by his dependents." Book of Wisdom, xiv.

[4 Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. VII. c. 8. Ed. Par. 1659, p. 265. Ed.]

[5 Athanasius, Cont. Gentes. ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε, τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν ἐν οὐδενὶ ποτὲ καλὸν κριθείη, ὅλον ὂν φαῦλον. Par. 1627, tom. i. p. 8. Ed.]

came of no good, but of evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning can never in anything be judged good, seeing it is wholly naught."

St John says, "My little children, beware of images;" but to set them in the churches, which are places dedicated to the service and invocation of God, and that over the Lord's table, being the highest and most honourable place, where most danger of abuse both is and ever hath been, is not to beware of them nor to flee from them, but rather to embrace and receive them. Tertullian, expounding the same words, writeth thus: "Little children, keep yourselves from the shape itself, or form of them[1]."

Lib. de Corona Militis.

Images in the Church either serve to edify or to destroy. If they edify, then is there a kind of edification which the Scriptures neither teach nor command, but always disallow: if they destroy, they are not to be used; for in the Church of God all things ought to be done to edify.

1 Cor. xiv.

The commandment of God is, "Thou shalt not lay a stumbling-block or a stone before the blind;" and, "Cursed is he that maketh the blind to wander in his way."

The simple and unlearned people who have been so long under blind guides, are blind in matters of religion, and inclined to error and idolatry. Therefore, to set images before them to stumble at (for they are snares and traps for the feet of the ignorant), or to lead them out of the true way, is not only against the commandment of God, but deserveth also the malediction and curse of God.

Nam laquei pedibus insipientium sunt.

The use of images is, to the learned and confirmed in knowledge, neither necessary nor profitable. To the superstitious, it is a confirmation in error. To the simple and weak, an occasion to fall, and very offensive and wounding to their consciences; and therefore very dangerous. For St Paul saith, "Offending the brethren and wounding their weak consciences, they sin against Christ." And Matthew xviii: "Woe be to him by whom offence or occasion of falling cometh; it were better that a millstone were tied

1 Cor. ix.

[1] Filioli custodite vos ab idolis, non jam ab idololatria quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis, i.e. ab ipsâ effigie eorum.

[Ed. Par. Rigalt. 1641. p. 126—7. Ed.]

about his neck, and he cast into the sea, than to offend one of the little ones that believe in Christ." And where an objection may be made that such offence may be taken away by sincere doctrine and preaching, it is to be answered, that is not sufficient; as hereafter more at large shall appear.

And though it should be admitted as true, yet it should follow that sincere doctrine and preaching should always, and in all places, continue as well as images: and so that wheresoever an image were erected to offend, there should also, of reason, a godly and sincere preacher be continually maintained; for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poison; but that is not possible in the realm of England, if images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

As good magistrates, who intend to banish all whoredom, do drive away all naughty persons, especially out of such places as be suspected; even so images, being "Meretrices," *id est*, "Whores"—for that the worshipping of them is called in the prophets fornication and adultery—ought to be banished, and especially out of churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual fornication hath been most committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit that which is hurtful to the greatest number; but in all churches and commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And whereas it is commonly alleged that images in churches stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered that, contrariwise, they rather distract the mind from prayer, hearing of God's word, and other godly meditations; as we read that in the council chamber of the Lacedæmonians no picture or image was suffered, lest, in consultation of weighty matters of the common weal, their minds, by the sight of the outward image, might be occasioned to withdraw or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this present time declareth, that those parts of the realm which think, and are persuaded, that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an image, most desire the restitution of images, and have been most diligent to set them up again: restitution, therefore, of them by com-

mon authority shall confirm them more in their error, to the danger of their souls, than ever they were before. For, as one man writeth, "Nothing is more certain or sure than that which of doubtful is made certain[1]."

The profit of images is uncertain; the peril, by experience of all ages and states of the Church, as afore, is most certain.

The benefit to be obtained by them, if there be any, is very small; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now, to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of faith and religion, is a tempting of God and a grievous offence.

SECOND PART.

Probations out of the Fathers, Councils, and Histories.

First, it is manifest, that in the primitive Church images were not commonly used in churches, oratories, and places of assembly for religion; but they were generally detested and abhorred, insomuch that the want of imagery was objected to the Christians by the heathen, as a crime.

Lib. iv. contra Celsum.

Origen relates that Celsus objected the lack of images[2].

Arnobius saith also, that the Ethnics accused the Christians, that they had neither altars nor images[3].

Zephirinus in his "Commentary upon the Apology of Tertullian," gathers thus of Tertullian's words: "That place of persuasion were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always, that Christians in those days did hate, most of all, images, with their trim decking and ornaments[4]."

Lib. i. cap. 25.

Irenæus reproves the heretics called Gnostics, because that they carried about the image of Christ, made in Pilate's

[1] Nihil magis est certum quam quod ex dubio factum est certum.

[2] Ed. *Par. Ben.* tom. i. p. 524. Ed.]

[3] Ed. *Par. de la Barre.* 1582, p. 137. Ed.]

[4] Qui locus persuadendi frigeret penitus, nisi perpetuo illud teneamus, Christianos tunc temporis odisse maximè statuas eum suis ornamentis. [Ed. Col. 1622, p. 145. Ed.]

time, after his own proportion[5] (which were much more to be esteemed than any that can be made now); using also, for declaration of their affection towards it, to set garlands upon the head of it[6].

Lactantius affirms plainly[7], "It is not to be doubted, that there is no religion wherever there is any image." If Christians then had used images, he would not have made his proposition so large. Lib. Divin. Instit. ii. cap. 18.

St Augustine[8] commends Varro the Roman in these words: "Since Varro thought religion might be kept more purely without images, who does not see how near he came to the truth?" So that not only by Varro's judgment, but also by St Augustine's approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of religion, and the nearest the truth, is to be without images. De Civitate Dei, lib. iv. cap. 31.

The same St Augustine, in Ps. cxiii., hath[9] these words: "Images have more force to bow down and crook the silly soul, than to teach it."

And upon the same Psalm he moves this question[10]: "Every child, yea, every beast knoweth that it is not God which they see; why, then, doth the Holy Ghost so oft give warning to beware of that which all do know?" St Augustine answers[11]: "When they are set in churches, and begin

[5] Made like to the actual bodily form and proportion in which Christ appeared upon earth.

[6] Gnosticos se autem vocant, et imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliquâ materia fabricatas, habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato illo in tempore, quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus, et has coronant.—S. Ir. Op. Par. Ben. 1710, p. 105. Ed.]

[7] Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit ubicunque simulacrum est. [Ed. Oxon. 1684, p. 203. Ed.]

[8] *Quum Varro existimaverit* castius sine simulacris observari religionem, quis non videt quantum appropinquaverit veritati? [The words in Italics are not Augustine's.—Ed. Ben. Par. 1681, tom. vii. col. 112. Ed.]

[9] Plus valent simulacra ad eurvandam infelicem animam * * * quam ad corrigendam.—[Ed. Par. Ben. 1681, tom. iv. col. 1262. Ed.]

[10] Quivis puer, immo quævis bestia scit, non esse Deum quod vident: cur ergo Spiritus Sanctus toties monet cavendum quod omnes sciunt?

[11] Quoniam cum ponuntur in templis, et semel incipiunt adorari à multitudine, statim nascitur sordidissimus affectus erroris.

[The genuine words of Augustine are:

"Quis puer interrogatus non hoc certum esse respondeat, quod simulacra gentium os habent et non loquuntur, oculos habent et non vide-

once to be worshipped of the multitude or common people, straightway springs up a most filthy affection of error."

This place of St Augustine well opens how weak a reason it is to say, images are a thing indifferent in chambers and in churches; for the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, oftentimes alters the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the market, but not so in churches. It is lawful to eat and drink, but not so in churches. And therefore saith St Paul: "Have you not houses to eat and drink in? Do you contemn the Church of God?"

Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? an ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?

Many other actions there be, which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, not only in churches, but also in other assemblies of honest people.

Tertullian saith he used sometimes to burn frankincense in his chamber, which was then used by idolators, and is so still in the Romish churches; but he joineth withal: "But not after[1] such a rite or ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the idols."

So that images placed in churches, and set in an honourable place of estimation, as St Augustine saith, and especially over the Lord's table, which is done (using the words of Tertullian) after the same manner and fashion which the Papists used, especially after so long continuance of abuse of images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinion towards them—cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many souls.

bunt, et cætera quæ divinus sermo contexuit—cur ergo tantopere Spiritus Sanctus curat Scripturarum plurimis locis hæc insinuare, atque inculcare velut inscientibus, quasi non omnibus apertissima atque notissima, nisi quia species membrorum quam naturaliter in animantibus viventem videre atque in nobismetipsis sentire consuevimus, quanquam ut illi asserunt in signum aliquod fabrefacta atque eminenti collocata suggestu, cum adorari atque honorari a multitudine cœperit, paret in unoquoque sordidissimum erroris affectum," &c. &c.

Ed. Ben. Par. 1631, tom. iv. col. 1261. c.d.
— Basil. 1542, tom. viii. col. 1306. } Ed.]

[1] Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatu, quo agitur apud idola.

[Tertullian. de Corona Militis. Cap. 10. Ed. Rigalt. 1641. Paris, p. 126. Ed.]

Epiphanius, in his epistle to John Bishop of Jerusalem (which epistle was translated out of the Greek by St Jerome, shewing that it is likely that Jerome disliked not the doctrine of the same), writes a fact of his own, which most clearly declares the judgment of that notable learned bishop concerning the use of images: his words are these: "When[2] I came to a village called Anablatha, and saw there, as I passed by, a candle burning, and enquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a veil or cloth hanging at the door of the same church, dyed and painted, having on it the image of Christ, as it were, or of some saint—for I remember not well whose it was. Then, when I saw this, that in the Church of Christ, against the authority of the Scriptures, the image of a man was hung up, I cut it in pieces," &c. And a little after: "And commanded that such manner of veils or cloths, which are contrary to our religion, be not hanged in the Church of Christ."

Out of this place of Epiphanius divers notes are to be observed:—

First, that, by the judgment of this ancient Father, to permit images in churches is against the authority of the Scriptures, meaning against the second commandment: "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image," &c.

Secondly, that Epiphanius rejecteth, not only graven and molten, but also painted images; for if he cut in pieces the image painted on a veil hanging at the church door, what would he have done if he had found it over the Lord's Table?

Thirdly, that he spareth not the image of Christ; for no doubt that image is most perilous in the church, of all other.

[2 Quum venissem ad villam quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidissemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, et interrogassem quis locus esset, didicissemque esse Ecclesiam, et intrassem ut orarem, inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ, tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem quasi Christi vel sancti cujusdam, non enim satis memini cujus fuit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem in Ecclesiâ Christi contra auctoritatem scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud * * * et præcepi in Ecclesiâ Christi istiusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi.

[Ed. Par. Ben. 1706. tom. iv. col. 828-829. Ep. cx. Ed.]

Fourthly, that he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces; following the example of the good King Hezekiah, who brake the brazen serpent and burnt it to ashes.

Last of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it the duty of vigilant bishops to be careful that no such kind of painted images are permitted in the Church.

Serenus, bishop of Massilia, broke down images, and destroyed them, when he saw them begin to be worshipped[1].

Greg. in Regist. epist. cv.

Experience of the times since has declared whether of the two sentences were better. For since Gregory's time the images standing in the Western Churches have been overflowed with idolatry, notwithstanding his or other men's doctrine; whereas, if Serenus's judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened: for if no images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped; and consequently no idolatry committed by them.

THIRD PART.

To recite the proceedings in Histories and Councils about the matter of Images, would require a long discourse, but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

It is manifest to them that read histories, that not only emperors, but also divers and sundry councils in the Eastern Church, have condemned and abolished images, both by decrees and examples.

Book ix. c. 9.

Petrus Crinitus, in his book of "Honest Discipline," wrote out of the emperors' books these words[2]: "Valens

[1] Præterea indico dudum ad nos pervenisse, quod fraternitas vestra quosdam imaginum adoratores aspiciens, easdem in ecclesiis imagines confregit atque projecit. Et quidem zelum vos, ne quid manu factum adorari posset, habuisse laudavimus, sed frangere easdem imagines non debuisse indicamus. Idcirco enim pictura in ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui literas nesciunt saltem in parietibus videndo legant, quæ legere in codicibus non valent. Tua ergo fraternitas et illas servare et ab earum adoratu populum prohibere debuit; quatenus et literarum nescii haberent unde scientiam historiæ colligerent, et populus in pictnræ adoratione minime peccaret. Greg. Mag. Op. Regist. lib. ix. Indict. 2. Ed. Ben. Par. 1705, vol. ii. col. 1006. Ed.]

[2] Valens et Theodosius imperatores præfecto prætorio ad hunc modum scripserunt. Quum sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus

and Theodosius, the emperors, wrote to the pretorian prefect in this sort: 'Whereas we are very careful that the religion of Almighty God should be kept in all things; we permit no man to cast, grave, or paint the image of our Saviour Christ, either in colours, stone, or other matter: but wheresoever it be found, we command it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt anything contrary to our decrees and empire.'"

Leo III., a man commended in histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, (who as is judged of some men was the author of the book de re militari, that is of the feats of war, being translated out of Greek by Sir John Cheke, and dedicated to king Henry the Eighth your highness' father[3],) by public authority commanded abolishing of images, and in Constantinople caused all the images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them to ashes.

Constantine, his son, assembled a council of the bishops of the Eastern Church, in which council it was decreed as follows: "It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ, to have any images, either of the Creator or of any creatures, set up in the temples to be worshipped; but rather that all images, by the law of God, and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of churches." Which decree was executed in all places where any images were, either in Greece or in Asia. But in all these times the bishops of Rome, rather maintaining the authority of Gregory, than, like Christian bishops, weighing the peril of the Church, always in the assemblies allowed images.

Not long after the bishop of Rome, practising with Tharasius, patriarch of Constantinople, obtained of Irene, the empress, her son Constantine being then young, that a

superni numinis religionem tueri; signum salvatoris Christi nemini concedimus coloribus, lapide, aliâve materiâ fingere, inseulpere, aut pingere, sed quoeunque reperitur loco, tolli jubemus, gravissima pœna eos mulctando, qui contrarium decretis nostris et imperio quicquam tentaverint. Pet. Crin. de Hon. Discip. lib. ix. c. 9.

[3 The work "de apparatu bellico, or Tactica," of which the treatise de re militari is the first chapter, was not the work of Leo III., otherwise called Ieonoclastes, but of Leo VI. who was surnamed Pacifieus, Philosophus, and Sapiens. Cave, Hist. Literaria. Ed.]

council should be called at Nice, in which the Pope's legates were presidents, which appeared well by their fruits; for in that council it was decreed, that images should not only be permitted in churches, but also worshipped; which council was confuted by a book written by Charlemagne, the emperor, calling it a foolish and arrogant council[1].

Soon after this council arose a sharp contention between Irene, the empress, and her son, Constantine VI., the emperor, who destroyed images. And in the end, as she had before wickedly burned the bones of her father-in-law, Constantine V., so afterwards unnaturally she put out the eyes of her son, Constantine VI.

To be short, there never was anything that made more division, or brought more mischief into the Church, than the controversy of images; by reason whereof, not only the Eastern Church was divided from the Western, and never since perfectly reconciled, but also the empire was cut asunder and divided, and the gate opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great part of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the patrons of images, who could not be contented with the example of the primitive Church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture—(for as Tertullian saith[2], "What is the first, that is true, and that which is later is counterfeit")—but with all extremity they maintained the use of images in churches, whereof no profit nor advantage ever grew to the Church of God. For it is evident that infinite millions of souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of images used in place of religion; and no history can record that ever any one soul was won unto Christ by having of images. But lest it might appear that the Western Church had always generally retained and commended images, it is to be noted that in a council holden in Spain, called the Eliberian Council[3], the

[1] See the nine canons of that council (the 2nd Nicene,) Crabbs. Con. Gen. tom. ii. p. 465—6, Ed. Colon. 1551. Ed.]

[2] Id esse verum quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum quodcunque posterius. Tertullian. cont. Praxeam, Sect. 2. Op. p. 405. Ed.]

[3] Held at Elvira, near Granada, about A.D. 305. Labbé, Conc. Gen. tom. i. col. 995. Ed.]

use of images in churches was clearly prohibited in this form of words: "We decree that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that be painted upon the walls which is worshipped or adored[4]."

But, notwithstanding this, experience hath declared, that neither assembling in councils, neither writings, preachings, decrees, making of laws, prescribing of punishments, hath holpen against images, to which idolatry has been committed, nor against idolatry whilst images stood. For these blind books and dumb schoolmasters (which they call layman's books) have more prevailed by their carved and painted preaching of idolatry, than all other written books and preachings in teaching the truth, and the horror of that vice.

Having thus declared unto your Highness a few causes out of many which move our consciences in this matter, we beseech your Highness most humbly not to strain us any further, but consider that God's word threateneth a terrible judgment unto us, if we, being pastors and ministers in his Church, should assent unto the thing which in our learning and conscience we are persuaded tendeth to the confirmation of error, superstition, and idolatry, and finally, to the ruin of the souls committed to our charge, for which we must give an account to the Prince of pastors at the last day. Heb. xiii. 1 Peter v. We pray your Majesty also not to be offended with this our plainness and liberty, which all good and Christian princes have ever taken in good part at the hands of godly bishops.

St Ambrose, writing to Theodosius the emperor, useth these words[5], that is to say: "Neither is it the part of an emperor to deny free liberty of speaking, nor yet the duty of a priest not to speak what he thinks." And again[6]: "In Epist. lib. v. Epist. xxix.

[4] Placuit in Ecclesiis picturas esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur. [Can. 36. Crabbs. Con. Gen. Col. vol. i. p. 284. Ed.]

[5] Sed neque imperiale est libertatem dicendi negare, neque sacerdotale quid sentiat non dicere. [S. Ambros. Op. Ed. Par. Ben. 1690, Ep. xxix. col. 946. Ed.]

[6] In causâ vero Dei quem audies, si sacerdotem non audies, cujus majore peccatur periculo? Quis tibi verum audebit dicere, si sacerdos non audeat? [S. Ambros. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1690, Ep. xxix. col. 947. Ed.]

God's cause whom wilt thou hear, if thou wilt not hear the priest, to whose great peril the fault should be committed? Who dare say the truth unto thee if the priest dare not?" These and such like speeches of St Ambrose Theodosius and Valentinianus, the emperors, always took in good part; and we doubt not but your Grace will do the like, not only of whose clemency, but also beneficence, we have largely tasted.

We beseech your Majesty also, in these and such like controversies of religion, to refer the discussion and deciding of them to a synod of your bishops and other godly learned men, according to the example of Constantinus Maximus, and other Christian emperors, that the reasons of both parties being examined by them, the judgment may be given uprightly in all doubtful matters.

And to return to this present matter, we most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider, that besides weighty causes in policy which we leave to the wisdom of your honourable councillors, the establishment of images by your authority shall not only utterly discredit our ministers as builders up of the things which we have destroyed, but also blemish the fame of your most godly father, and also of such notable fathers as have given their life for the testimony of God's truth, who by public law removed all images.

The almighty and everlasting God plentifully endue your Majesty with his Spirit and heavenly wisdom, and long preserve your most gracious reign and prosperous government over us, to the advancement of His glory, to the overthrow of superstition, and to the benefit and comfort of all your Highness's loving subjects.

CONFERENCES.

CERTAIN GODLY, LEARNED, AND COMFORTABLE

CONFERENCES

BETWEEN

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF LONDON,

AND

HUGH LATIMER,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER,

DURING THE TIME OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT.

A. D. 1556.

CERTAIN GODLY, LEARNED, AND COMFORTABLE CONFERENCES

betwene the two Reverend Fathers and holy martyrs of Christ, D. Nicolas Rydley late bisshoppe of London, and Mr. Hugh Latimer, sometyme Bishop of Worcester during the tyme of their im=prisonmentes.

Ps. 116.

Ryght deare in the sight of the Lorde is the death of his Saintes.

Anno 1556.

TO THE READER.

Grace and peace &c. Good Christian Reader, here are set forth for thine instruction and comfort certain learned and comfortable conferences between the two reverend and godly fathers, M. Ridley and M. Latimer, whose bodies the Romish tyranny of late hath tormented, and fire hath consumed; whose souls mercy hath embraced, and heaven hath received; yielding the one unto the enemy to death, for testimony of the truth; commending the other unto God, in sure hope of life. And forasmuch as these their scrolls and writings were by God's good providence preserved, and as it were raked out of the ashes of the authors—containing as well comfortable consolation for such as are in the school of the Cross, as also good and profitable admonition for them which (either of ignorance, either of infirmity, or by flattering of themselves with vain pretences) do yield unto the wicked world—the reverence due to the reverend fathers, the zeal towards the setting forth of the tried truth, and the ready good will to comfort and confirm weak consciences, would not suffer thee any longer to want these small treatises and yet no small treasures; that as in life they profited thee by teaching, and in death by example, so after death they may do thee good by writing. And albeit the matter of itself is sufficient to commend itself, yet it cannot be, but the worthiness of the writers will increase credit, and give no small authority to the writings. M. Latimer came earlier in the morning, and was the more ancient workman in the Lord's vineyard; who also may very well be called (as divers learned men have termed him) the Apostle of England, as one much more worthy of that name for his true doctrine, and for his sharp reproving of sin and superstition, than was

Matt. xx.

Augustine, bishop of Canterbury, for bringing in the pope's monkery and false religion. M. Ridley came later, about the eleventh hour; but no doubt he came when he was effectually called: and from the time of his calling became a faithful labourer, terrible to the enemies for his excellent learning, and therefore a meet man to rid out of the Lord's vineyard the sophistical thorns of the wrangling adversaries; which did well appear in all disputations and conferences that were in his time, and partly doth appear in these short treatises following. But what shall it need in many words to praise them, whose lives were most commendable, whose deaths were most glorious? In office and vocation both like, in labour and travail both faithful, in learning and judgment both sound; in mind and manners both mild, but in God's cause both stout. For neither threatened death, neither love of present life, could shake the foundation of their faith, firmly grounded upon the sure rock, Christ. They redeemed liberty of conscience with the bondage of the body; and to save their lives, they were content to lose their lives. This was not the work of the flesh, but the operation of God's mighty Spirit; who hath ever from the beginning not only builded, but also enlarged, his Church by the suffering of his saints, and sealed his doctrine with the blood of his martyrs: as S. Augustine, speaking of the persecutions in the primitive church, doth well declare in these words:

Matt. vii.

De Civ. Dei, Lib. xxii. cap. 6.

Ligabantur, *includebantur*, *cædebantur*, *torquebantur*, *urebantur*, (*laniabantur*, *trucidabantur*,) *et multiplicabantur*[1].

That is to say, The Christians were bound, were imprisoned, were beaten, were tormented, were burnt, [were butchered, were slain,] and yet were multiplied.

Apolog. II.

If Justinus Martyr[2] when he was yet an heathen philo-

[1] S. Aug. De Civ. Dei, lib. xxii. cap. 6. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. vii. col. 661. The words in brackets are omitted by Ridley in his quotation. Ed.]

[2] Just. Mart. Apol. ii. cap. 12. Ed. Ben. Par. p. 96.

sopher (as he confesseth of himself) was moved to embrace the faith and religion of Christ in beholding the constant patience of the martyrs, which suffered for Christ in his time; how much more ought the patient suffering and voluntary death of these notable fathers, with many other learned, godly men in our days (whose names are written in the book of life) not only move, but also pierce and persuade all godly hearts, constantly to remain in the truth known? For undoubtedly the truth of the cause they suffered for is most evident by God's word, and hath been so fully taught, so clearly set forth by many and sundry writings, that it is open to the consciences of all the world, even of the very adversaries themselves that persecute it (greater is their damnation), except it be to such whom the God of this world, malice, ambition, avarice, or ignorance hath blinded. 2 Cor. iv. Which thing needeth none other proof (especially for the realm of England) but only to call to mind, with what conscience and constancy these pillars of the church (that cannot err) have walked in religion these twenty years by past: how they (not long ago) received and allowed things, which with fire and faggot they persecute now; and shrank from that then, which now they most earnestly maintain. And although there appeared in the latter days a shadow of stoutness in a few, yet it was indeed nothing. For it sprang not out of any zeal to the cause or clearness of conscience, but rather out of a like subtle and foxy presumption as the Syrians once conceived, when they put themselves in the danger of king Ahab, saying, "Behold we 1 Kings xx. have heard that the kings of the house of Israel are pitiful and merciful." For out of all doubt, king Henry the Eighth could as easily have obtained at Winchester's hands and others, a conformity in putting down the mass and all the rest, whatsoever hath been done (by order) since, if he had earnestly minded it; as the abolishing of the Pope, monkery,

pilgrimages, relics, with like baggage; all which are now again things well esteemed, and covered (as all the residue is) with the cloak of the Catholic church.

But to return to the matter we have in hand: in this little treatise, good Reader, thou shalt perceive another manner of spirit, thou shalt think (if thou thyself be not very dull) that thou hearest men speak, which had learned the lesson of the Apostles, that is, to obey God rather than man, and had not learned the Romish epicure's lesson, to apply faith and religion to the present state of policy, to turn with the time, and serve all seasons; men before death dead unto the world, accounting with St Paul all other things to be damage, loss, and vile, that they might win Christ; men zealous for the house of God, and the glory of his name; such as had already laid open their consciences and infirmities before the judgment-seat of God, and had again through Christ received the effect of faith and true righteousness, that is, peace of conscience and joyfulness in the Holy Ghost, and so had a full taste in this mortal body, of immortality; in misery, of happiness; in earth, of heaven. O England, England! how great is thy loss for the want of them! how horrible is thine offence for killing of them! how grievous will thy plague be, when the revenger of innocent blood shall call thee to an account for them, if thou do not repent in time! God grant that the admonitions of these and other godly martyrs may so warn us, their doctrine so instruct us, and their example so confirm us in the true knowledge and fear of God, that flying and abhorring idolatry and superstition, we may embrace true religion and piety; forsaking the phantasies of men, we may humbly obey the written word of God; and ruled thereby, direct all our doings to the glory of his name, and our own endless salvation in Christ Jesus. Amen.

Acts iv.

Philip. iii.

CERTAIN GODLY, LEARNED, AND COMFORTABLE

CONFERENCES

BETWEEN

THE TWO REVEREND FATHERS AND HOLY MARTYRS,

DR NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

LATE BISHOP OF LONDON,

AND

MASTER HUGH LATIMER,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF WORCESTER,

DURING THE TIME OF THEIR IMPRISONMENT.

"*In the name of Jesus let every knee bow.*" Philip. ii.

N. RIDLEY.

"A BISHOP ought to be unreproveable, as the steward of God, &c., cleaving fast to the true word of doctrine," &c. All worldly respects put apart, of shame, death, loss of goods, and worldly commodities, let me have, I pray you, your advice in these matters following: that is, your assent and confirmation in those things, which you judge that God doth allow, and your best counsel and advertisement where you think otherwise, and your reasons for both the same. For the wise man saith, "One brother which is helped of another, is like a well-defended city[1]."

N. RID. Tit. i. Tit. ii.

Prov. xviii.

The causes that move me to abstain from the mass, be these:

I. It is done in a strange tongue, which the people doth not understand, contrary to the doctrine of the apostle.

1 Cor. xiv.

[1 This quotation is taken from the Septuagint:
"ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ βοηθούμενος ὡς πόλις ὀχυρὰ καὶ ὑψηλή."
The authorised version renders the passage:
"A brother offended is harder to be won than a strong city." Prov. xviii. 19. ED.]

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. Where is no understanding, there is neither edifying, nor comfort; for besides that they speak into the air, the mind receiveth no profit; they are one to another as aliens. The parishioners will say, their priests are mad, whereas all things ought to be done so as they may edify. Let every man know, that the things which I write, saith St Paul, are the commandments of the Lord. Such absurdities are to be eschewed.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. II. There is also wanting the shewing of the Lord's
1 Cor. xi. death, contrary to the mind of the Apostle, "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come." What shewing can be there, whereas no man heareth, that is to say, understandeth what is said? No man, I mean, of the common people, for whose profit the prayer of the church ought specially to serve.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. "Woe be unto you, that take away the key of know-
Luke xi. ledge." The papists study by all means to make the people ignorant (lest their ignorant Sir Johns should be had in less estimation or despised), which is clean contrary to St Paul's practice, who wished that all men might be fulfilled with all
Col. i. knowledge, and to be perfect in Christ Jesus, &c. The institution of Christ, if it were rehearsed in the vulgar tongue, should be not only a consecration, but also a fruitful preaching to the edification of the hearers. Whereas, in the popish mass it is neither understanded nor heard, whilst the common people are utterly ignorant what their priests do, or what they go about, whether they bless or curse. The apostles understanded Christ, when he celebrated his supper; therefore do these papists swerve from Christ in their mass.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. III. There is no communion, but it is made a private table, and indeed ought to be a communion; for St Paul
1 Cor. x. saith, "The bread which we break, is the partaking of the body of Christ." And Christ brake, distributed, and
Matt. xxvi. said, "Take and eat," &c. But that they make it a private

table, it is open. For where they be many priests which will communicate, they do it not in one table or altar, but every one of them have their altars, masses, and tables. The papists make the Lord's table a private table.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. To make that private, which Christ made common, and willed to be communicated, may seem to be the workmanship of Antichrist himself. The canons[1] of the apostles do excommunicate them which being present at common prayer, &c. do not also receive the holy communion. And unto the same agreeth the decree of Anacletus: "When the consecration is done," saith he, "let all such communicate as intend not to be excommunicated[2]." "That which is first is true; that which is latter is counterfeited[3]," saith Tertullian. But the papists say, "We do it privately, because we do it for others." But where have you your commission to mass and sacrifice for others?

Can. ix.

De Consec. dist. 1 cap. Epist.

Tertull. contra Praxeam.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. IV. The Lord's commandment of communicating the cup unto the lay people, is not observed according to the word of the Lord, "Drink ye all of this."

Matt. xxvi.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death." So that, not the partaking of the one only, but of both, is a shewing of the Lord's death. Because in his death the blood was divided from the body, it is necessary that the same division be represented in the Supper; otherwise the Supper is not a shewing of the Lord's death, &c. "Let a man examine

1 Cor. xi.

[1 πάντας τοὺς εἰσιόντας πιστοὺς καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή. Can. Apost. Can. 9. Conc. Coll. Reg. Par. tom. i. p. 12. Ed.]

[2 Peracta autem consecratione, omnes communicent qui nolucrint ecclesiasticis carere limitibus. Anacleti. Ep. 1. Conc. Coll. Reg. Par. tom. i. p. 140. Ed.]

[3 Id esse verum, quodcunque primum; id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius. Tertullian. adv. Prax. sec. 2. Op. p. 405. Ed.]

The Lord's death is not shewed except both parts of the sacrament be ministered. The argument of King Henry VIII.

himself," &c. But this word, '*homo*,' is of both genders: therefore it is as well commanded to the woman to drink of the cup, as the man, &c. But the king's argument, once against me, was this—"'When ye come together to eat,' he saith not, saith he, to drink."—I answered, it was not needful, seeing that a little before he had

1 Cor. xi.

made mention of both in these words: "And so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup."—*Homo*—That is to say, as well the woman as the man. Under the name of bread, which betokeneth all sustenance of the body, drink is also understanded in the Scripture. Otherwise they would say, that Christ did not drink after his resurrection with his disciples, except Peter had said, we did eat and drink with

Acts x.

him after he rose from death.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. De doctrinâ Christianâ, Lib. 3, cap. ix.

V. They do[1] servilely serve the holy sign, as St Augustine speaketh, instead of the thing signified, whilst the sacramental bread (by a solemn or common error) is adored and worshipped for the flesh taken of the Son of God.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat.

If ye deny unto them their corporeal presence and transubstantiation, their fantastical adoration will (by and by) vanish away. Therefore, be strong in denying such a presence, and then ye have won the field.

Furthermore, in the first Supper, celebrated of Christ himself, there is no mention made of adoration of the elements. Who said, "Eat ye, and drink ye," not worship ye. Therefore, against adoration may be spoken that saying of Christ

Matt. xix.

concerning divorce, "From the beginning it was not so." But the devil secretly, and by little and little, infecteth all Christ's ordinances; and as for the private mass, with all the sinews thereof, what manner a thing it is, may be easily perceived by the ready acceptation of the people, whose hearts

Gen. viii.

are prone to evil even from their youth.

[1 Sub signo enim servit, qui operatur aut veneratur aliquam rem significantem, nesciens quid significet. S. Aug. de doctr. Christ. lib. III. cap. 9. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1635, tom. iii. pars 1. col. 48, 49. Ed.]

N. RIDLEY.

VI. They pluck away the honour from the only sacrifice of Christ, whilst this sacramental and mass-sacrifice is believed to be propitiatory, and such a one as purgeth the souls, both of the quick and the dead. Contrary to that is written to the Hebrews, "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified." And again, "Where remission of these things (that is, of sins) is, there is no more offering for sin." N. Rid. Heb. x.

H. LATIMER.

"By his own person he hath purged our sins." These words, 'by his own person[2],' have an emphasis or vehemence, which driveth away all sacrificing priests from such office of sacrificing; seeing that, which He hath done by himself, He hath not left to be perfected by others; so that the purging of our sins may more truly be thought past and done, than a thing to come and to be done. "If any man sin," &c. He saith not, let him have a priest at home to sacrifice for him, but "we have an Advocate," the virtue of whose one oblation endureth for ever. St Paul saith, "They that serve the altar, &c. Even so the Lord hath ordained, that they which preach the gospel should live of the gospel." Why doth he not rather say, "they that sacrifice in the mass"? H. Lat. Heb. i. 1 John ii. 1 Cor. ix.

N. RIDLEY.

VII. There be manifold abuses and superstitions which are done in the mass and about the mass. Salt is conjured, that it may be a conjured salt for the salvation of the believers, to be a salvation and health, both of the mind and of the body, unto everlasting life, to all them that receive it. Water is conjured, that it may be made a conjured water, to chase away all the power of the enemy, to chase away devils, &c. Bread also hath this second blessing, that it may be health of mind and body to all them that receive it. If we do think that such strength is to be given to salt, water, and bread; or if we judge N. Rid. Conjuring of salt water and bread.

[2] In the authorised version the passage is rendered "by himself purged our sins." Heb. i. 3. Ed.]

that these things are able to receive any such virtue or efficacy, what leave we to Christ, our Saviour? But if we think not so, why then do we pray on this sort; forasmuch as all prayer ought to be done in faith?

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. A book against the mass made by Dr Turner.

As touching the abuses of the mass, I refer you to a little book, the title whereof is Mistress Missa[1], where she was justly condemned and banished under pain of burning. But the devil hath brought her in again, to bring us to burning.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid.

VIII. The priest turneth himself from the altar, and speaketh unto the people in an unknown tongue, saying, *Dominus vobiscum*, *orate pro me*, *fratres et sorores*, &c.; that is, The Lord be with you, and pray for me, brothers and sisters: and turning from the people, he saith in Latin, "Let us pray, and the peace of the Lord be always with you." Also the people, or at least he which supplieth the place of the people, is compelled three times to say, "Amen," when he hath heard never a word of that the priest hath prayed or spoken, except these few words, *Per omnia secula seculorum*. Whereas to the answering of "Amen," St Paul willeth the answerer, not only to hear, but also to understand, the things that were spoken.

1 Cor. xiv.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat.

Yea, and *Ite*, *missa est*, must be sung to them with a great rolling up and down of notes, so bidding them go home fasting, when he hath eaten and drunken up all himself alone. A fellow, once rebuked for going away before mass was ended, answered, that it was not good manners to tarry till he were bidden go. After that he was blamed for not taking holy bread, he answered, that he was bidden go away before.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid.

Words out of the canon of the mass.

IX. The priest, when he lifteth up the Sacrament, he murmureth to himself these words: *Hæc quotiescunque feceritis*, *in mei memoriam facietis*; that is, "As often as ye do

[1 See note D. at the end of the volume. Ed.]

these things, ye shall do it in remembrance of me." He seemeth by his words to speak unto the people, but he suffereth not his voice to be heard of the people.

H. LATIMER.

I cannot tell to whom the mass-man speaketh as he is a lifting, seeing that neither Christ bade him lift, neither is the people allowed to do those things: and as for that form of words, it is of their own framing. But the papists do all things well, be they never so much deceitful workers, taking upon them the vizor and title of the church, as it were sheep's clothing, as though they were the ministers of righteousness: whereas indeed they are the devil's ministers, whose end shall be according to their deeds. They roll out their Latin language by heart, but in so doing they make the poor people of Christ altogether ignorant; and, so much as in them lieth, they keep them back from that which St Paul calleth the best knowledge, which is, to know rightly the things which are given unto us of Christ. But this is the matter, so long as the priests speak Latin, they are thought of the people to be marvellous well learned. H. Lat. 2 Cor. xi. 1 Cor. ii.

N. RIDLEY.

X. "Upon the which vouchsafe to look with thy merciful and cheerful countenance." What meaneth this prayer for the Sacrament itself, if it be, as they say, the body of Christ, if it be God and man? How should the Father not look with a cheerful countenance upon his only well-beloved Son? Why do not we rather pray for ourselves, that we, for his sake, may be looked upon of the Father with a cheerful countenance? N. Rid. Words out of the canon of the mass.

H. LATIMER.

To this let them answer, that so pray; except, peradventure, this prayer was used long before it was esteemed to be the body of Christ really and corporeally. And then this prayer maketh well to destroy the popish opinion, that it is not the opinion of the church, nor so ancient as they babble. There be other prayers of the mass, which, peradventure, be of like effect; but I have forgotten all massing matters, H. Lat.

and the mass itself I utterly detest and abhor: and so I confessed openly before our Diotrephes[1] and others.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. Another piece of the canon of the mass.

XI. "Command these to be carried by the hands of thy holy angel unto thy high altar," &c. If we understand the body and blood of Christ, wherefore do we so soon desire the departure of them, before the receipt of the same? And wherefore brought we them thither by making of them, to let him go so soon?

Write again, I beseech you, fathers and brethren, most dearly beloved in Christ. Spare not my paper, for I look ere it be long that our common enemy will first assault me, and I wish, from the bottom of my heart, to be holpen not only by your prayers, but also by your wholesome counsels.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. Matt. xvii.

As Peter, when he said, "Let us make here three tabernacles," spake and wist not what; so, peradventure, our massmen cannot tell what they say, speaking so manifestly against themselves. So that the old proverb may very well be

A Proverb.

spoken of them, 'Liars had need to have good memories.'

Against the Sacrifice of the Mass yet more, by Hugh Latimer.

John iii.

Heb. v.

St John Baptist saith, "A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from heaven." And St Paul, "No man taketh honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron," &c. But to offer Christ is a great and weighty matter; therefore ought no man to take it upon him without a manifest calling and commission. But where have our sacrificers so great an office committed unto them? Let them shew their commission, and then sacrifice. Peradventure they will say, 'do this,' is all one to say, as 'offer this.' Then I ask, what was there done? What was demonstrated by this pronoun, 'this?' Or, what did they see done, to whom these words, 'Do this,' were spoken? If the whole action of Christ, if all that Christ did, be meant by

[1] Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. Ed.]

this word, 'this,' and 'do,' is nothing else but 'offer'; then the whole action of Christ is to be offered of the priests, neither can they, but in so doing, satisfy the commandment. And so it should appear, that neither was there any sacrament instituted for the lay people, seeing that no such sacrifice hath been done at any time, or is to be done, of the lay people; neither doth it avail much to eat or drink it, but only to offer it. Now the text hath not, that any part of Christ's action was to offer, forasmuch as the text doth not declare that Christ himself did then offer. And so the action of offering is not contained in this pronoun 'this.'

Go through every word. First, 'to take' is not to offer; 'to break' is not to offer; 'to give to the disciples' is not to offer, and so on. Worcester[2] said once to me, that to offer was contained in '*Benedicere*,' which is not true; for '*Benedicere*' is to give thanks. But he had often given thanks to God before, without any such offering. And if, in giving of thanks, Christ offered his body, seeing after he had given thanks, he said, 'This is my body;' then in speaking those words, he did not change the bread into his body, forasmuch as he had offered, before those words were spoken. St Paul hath these words to the Hebrews, speaking of Christ: "that he might be merciful and a faithful high priest in things concerning God, for to purge the people's sins." So that it may appear, that the purging of our sins doth rather hang hereof, that Christ was the high-priest offering, than that he was offered; saving in that he was of himself willingly offered. Then is it not necessary he should be offered of others; I will not say, a marvellous presumptuous act, that the same should be attempted of any without a manifest vocation; for it is no small matter to make an oblation. And yet I speak nothing, that it tendeth partly to the derogation of Christ's cross; besides also that the offerer ought to be of more excellency than the thing offered. Heb. ii.

The minister of the gospel hath rather to do for Christ with the people, than for the people with God, except it be in praying and giving of thanks; and so hath the people as well to do with God for the minister. The office of re-

[2] Heath, Bishop of Worcester, afterwards Archbishop of York. Ed.]

2 Cor. v. conciliation standeth in preaching, not in offering. "We are messengers in the room of Christ," saith St Paul; he doth not say, "We offer unto God for the people."

If Christ offered in his Supper, for whom, I pray you? For all. Then his latter oblation made on the cross cannot be thought to be done for all men, for it was not done for them for whom the oblation was made in the Supper; except, peradventure, he offered twice for the self-same, and that
1 Pet. v. should argue the unperfectness of the sacrifice. "Feed ye, as much as in you lieth, the flock of Christ:" nay, sacrifice rather for the flock of Christ, if the matter be as it is pretended; and it is marvel that Peter did forget so high an office, seeing in these days sacrificing is so much esteemed, preaching almost nothing at all. Who art thou, if thou ceasest to feed? A good catholic. But who art thou, if thou ceasest to sacrifice and say mass? At the least, an heretic! From whence come these perverse judgments, except, peradventure, they think that in sacrificing they feed, and then what needeth a learned pastor? Seeing no man is so foolish, but he can soon learn to sacrifice and say mass.

Paul wrote two epistles to Timothy, and one to Titus,
Acts xx. two clergymen. He made also a long sermon *ad clerum*, but not one word of this mass sacrifice, which could not have been done, if there had been such a one, and so highly to be esteemed.

The sinews of the mass cannot be found in the New Testament.

I have read over of late the New Testament three or four times deliberately; yet can I not find there neither the popish consecration, nor yet their transubstantiation, nor their oblation, nor their adoration, which be the very sinews and marrow-bones of the mass. Christ could not be offered, but propitiatorily; yet now, *Hoc facite*, 'Do this,' must be as much as to say, 'Sacrifice and offer my body under a piece of bread,' available, but we cannot tell how much. Ah! thieves, have ye robbed the realm with your sacrifice of lands and goods; and now cannot tell how much your sacrifice is available? As who say, it is so much available, that the value cannot be expressed, nor too dear
Isai. lxiv. bought with both lands and goods. "The eye hath not seen, and the ear hath not heard," &c. This is a fine-

spun thread, a cunning piece of work, worthily qualified and blanched, be ye sure. But our nobility will not see: they will not have that religion that hath the cross annexed to it.

All popish things (for the most part) are man's inventions; whereas they ought to have the holy scripture for the only rule of faith. When Paul made allegation for himself before Felix, the high deputy, he did not extend his faith beyond the word of God written: "Believing all things (saith he) which are written in the law and the prophets;" making no mention of the rabbins. Moreover, "they have Moses and the prophets," saith Abraham in the parable; not their persons, but their writings. Also, "Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." And again, "Blessed are they which hear the word of God." "The things, which have not their authority of the scriptures, may as easily be despised as allowed," saith St Hierome[1].

Acts xxiv.

Luke xvi.

Rom. x.

Luke xi.

Hieron. in Matt. xxiii.

"Therefore, whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of any other manner of thing, which belongeth to our faith and life, I will not say if we," saith St Augustine[2], "which are not worthy to be compared to him that said 'If we,' but that also which forthwith he addeth, 'if an angel from heaven shall teach anything, besides that ye have received (in the scriptures of the law and gospel,) accursed be he'." Our Diotrephes with his papists are under this curse. But how are the scriptures, say they, to be understanded? St Augustine answereth, giving this rule, "The circumstances of the scriptures," saith he, "lighten the scriptures; and so one scripture doth expound another, to a man that is studious, well willing, and often calling upon God in continual prayer, who giveth his Holy Spirit to them that desire

Aug. cont. lit. Pet. lib. iii. cap. 6.

Gal. i.

John Ep. iii. Diotrephes is described.

De doctr. Christ. lib. iii. cap. 28.

Luke xi.

[1 Hoc quia de Scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur. S. Hier. in Matth. xxiii. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1706, tom. iv. col. 112. Ed.]

[2 Proinde, sive de Christo, sive de ejus ecclesia, sive de quacumque aliâ re quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque vestram, non dicam nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, 'Licèt si nos;' sed omnino quod secutus adjecit, Si angelus de cœlo vobis annuntiaverit præter quàm quod in Scripturis legalibus et evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit. S. Aug. Cont. lit. Pet. lib. III. cap. 6. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ix. col. 301. Ed.]

2 Pet. i. it of him[1]." So that the scripture is not of any private interpretation at any time. For such a one, though he be a layman, fearing God, is much more fit to understand holy scripture than any arrogant and proud priest, yea, than the bishop himself, be he never so great and glistering in all his pontificals. But what is to be said of the Fathers? How Epist. xix. ad Hieron. are they to be esteemed? St Augustine answereth, giving this rule also; that we should not therefore think it true, because they say so, do they never so much excel in holiness or learning; but if they be able to prove their saying by the canonical scriptures, or by good probable reason; meaning that to be a probable reason, as I think, which doth orderly follow upon a right collection and gathering out of the scriptures[2].

Let the papists go with their long faith; be you contented with the short faith of the saints, which is revealed unto us in the word of God written. Adieu to all popish fantasies. Amen. For one man, having the scripture and good reason for him, is more to be esteemed himself alone, than a thousand such as they, either gathered together, or succeeding one another. The Fathers have both herbs and weeds; and papists commonly gather the weeds and leave the herbs. And they speak many times more vehemently in sound of words, than they did mean indeed, or than they would have done, if they had foreseen what sophistical wranglers should have succeeded them. Now, the papists are given to brawl about words, to the maintainance of their own inventions, and rather follow the sound of words, than attain unto the meaning of the Fathers; so that it is dangerous to trust them in citing the Fathers.

In all ages the devil hath stirred up some light heads to esteem the Sacraments but lightly, as to be empty and bare signs; whom the Fathers have resisted so fiercely, that in their fervour they seem, in sound of words, to run too far the other way, and to give too much to the Sacraments, when

[1 The passage here quoted does not occur in the 28th chapter, though the sense of the chapter is the same. Ed.]

[2 Alios autem ita lego, ut quantalibet sanctitate doctrinaque præpolleant, non ideo verum putem, quia ipsi ita senserunt, sed quia mihi vel per illos auctores canonicos, vel probabili ratione, quod à vero non abhorreat, persuadere potuerunt. Ordo Novus. LXXXIII. S. Aug. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. tom. ii. col. 190. Ed.]

they did think more measurably. And therefore they are to be ready warily, with sound judgment. But our papists, (an they seem but a little sounding to their purpose,) they will outface, brace, and brag all men:—it must needs be, as they will have it. Therefore, there is no remedy (namely, now when they have the master-bowl in their hand, and rule the roast) but patience. Better it is to suffer what cruelty they will put unto us, than to incur God's high indignation.

Wherefore, good my Lord, be of good cheer in the Lord, with due consideration what he requireth of you, and what he doth promise you. Our common enemy shall do no more than God will permit him. "God is faithful, which will not 1 Cor. x. suffer us to be tempted above our strength," &c. Be at a point, what ye will stand unto, stick unto that, and let them both say and do what they list. They can but kill the body, which otherwise is of itself mortal. Neither yet shall they do that when they list, but when God will suffer them, when the hour appointed is come. To use many words with them, it shall be but in vain, now that they have a bloody and deadly law prepared for them. But it is very requisite that ye give a reasonable account of your faith, if they will quietly hear 1 Pet. iii. you; else ye know, in a wicked place of judgment a man may keep silence after the example of Christ. Let them not Luke xxiii. deceive you with their sophistical sophisms and fallacies; you know that many false things have more appearance of truth, than things that be most true. Therefore Paul giveth us a watch-word, saying, "Let no man deceive you with Col. ii. likeliness of speech." Neither is it requisite, that with the contentious you should follow strife of words, which tend to no edification, but to the subversion of the hearers, and the 2 Tim. ii. vain bragging and ostentation of the adversaries.

Fear of death doth most persuade a great number. Be well ware of that argument; for that persuaded Shaxton[3], as many men thought, after that he had once made a good profession openly before the judgment-seat. The flesh is weak; but the willingness of the spirit shall refresh the weakness of the flesh. The number of the criers under the altar must needs be fulfilled. If we be segregated thereunto, happy Rev. vi.

[3 Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, who resigned at the passing of the Six Articles, but afterwards acquiesced in them. Ed.]

be we. That is the greatest promotion that God giveth in this world, to be such Philippians, "to whom it is given not only to believe, but also to suffer," &c.

Philip. i.

But who is able to do these things? Surely all our ability, all our sufficiency, is of God. He requireth and promiseth. Let us declare our obedience to his will, when it shall be requisite, in the time of trouble, yea, in the midst of the fire. When that number is fulfilled, which I ween shall be shortly, then have at the papists, when they shall say, "Peace, all things are safe;" when Christ shall come to keep his great parliament, to the redress of all things that be amiss. But he shall not come, as the papists feign him, to hide himself, and to play bo-peep, as it were, under a piece of bread; but he shall come gloriously, to the terror and fear of all papists, but to the great consolation and comfort of all that will here suffer for him. "Comfort yourselves one another with these words."

1 Thess. v.

1 Thess. iv.

Lo! sir, here have I blotted your paper vainly, and played the fool egregiously. But so I thought better, than not to do your request at this time. Pardon me, and pray for me: pray for me, I say, pray for me, I say. For I am sometime so fearful, that I would creep into a mouse-hole; sometime God doth visit me again with his comfort. So he cometh and goeth, to teach me to feel and to know mine infirmity, to the intent to give thanks to him that is worthy, lest I should rob him of his duty, as many do, and almost all the world.

Fare you well.

What credence is to be given to papists, may appear by their racking, writhing, wringing, and monstrously injuring of God's holy scripture, as appeareth in the pope's law. But I dwell here now in a school of obliviousness. Fare you well, once again. And be you steadfast and immoveable in the Lord. Paul loved Timothy marvellously well, notwithstanding he saith unto him, "Be thou partaker of the afflictions of the gospel:" and again, "Harden thyself to suffer afflictions." "Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," saith the Lord.

1 Cor. xv.

2 Tim. i.

Rev. ii.

A

SECOND CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

RIDLEY AND LATIMER

IN PRISON.

N. RIDLEY.

In writing again, ye have done me an unspeakable plea- N. Rid.
sure; and I pray, that the Lord may requite it you in that day. For I have received great comfort at your words, but yet I am not so filled withal, but that I thirst much more now than before, to drink more of that cup of yours, wherein ye mingle unto me profitable with pleasant. I pray you, good father, let me have one draught more to comfort my stomach. For surely, except the Lord assist me with his gracious aid, in the time of his service I know I shall play but the part of a white-livered knight. But truly my trust is in him, that in mine infirmity he shall try himself strong, and that he can make the coward in his cause to fight like a man.

Sir, now I look daily when Diotrephes with his warriors shall assault me; wherefore I pray you, good father, for that you are an old soldier and an expert warrior, and, God knoweth, I am but a young soldier, and as yet of small experience in these feats, help me, I pray you, to buckle my harness. And now I would have you to think that these darts are cast at my head of some one of Diotrephes' or Antonius' soldiers.

The First Objection of the Antonian.

All men marvel greatly, why you, after the liberty which Anton. Object. I.
you have granted unto you, more than the rest, do not go to mass; which is a thing, as you know, now much esteemed of all men, yea, and of the queen herself.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. Luke ix. Because "no man, that layeth hand on the plough, and looketh back, is fit for the kingdom of God." And also for the self-same cause, why St Paul would not suffer Titus to be circumcised: which is, that the truth of the gospel might Gal. ii. remain with us uncorrupted. And again, "If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a trespasser." This is also another cause, lest I should seem by outward fact to allow the thing, which, I am persuaded, is contrary to sound doctrine, and so should be a stumbling-stock unto Matt. xviii. the weak. But, "Woe be unto him, by whom offence cometh! It were better for him, that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the midst of the sea."

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. John xv. Except the Lord help me, ye say. Truth it is. For "Without me, saith he, ye can do nothing;" much less suffer death of our adversaries, through the bloody law now prepared against us. But it followeth, "If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ask what ye will, and it shall be done for you." What can be more comfortable? Sir, you make answer yourself so well, that I cannot better it. Sir, I begin now to smell what you mean: by travailing thus with me, you use me, as Bilney did once, when he converted me. Pretending as though he would be taught of me, he sought ways and means to teach me; and so do you. I thank you, therefore, most heartily. For indeed you minister armour unto me, whereas I was unarmed before and unprovided, saving that I give myself to prayer for my refuge.

The Second Objection of the Antonian.

Anton. Object. II. What is it, then, that offendeth you so greatly in the mass, that ye will not vouchsafe once either to hear it or see it? And from whence cometh this new religion upon you? Have not you used in times past to say masses yourself?

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

I confess unto you my fault and ignorance: but know you, that for these matters I have done open penance long ago, both at Paul's Cross, and also openly in the pulpit at Cambridge; and, I trust, God hath forgiven me this mine offence, for I did it upon ignorance. But if ye be desirous to know, and will vouchsafe to hear what things do offend me in the mass, I will rehearse unto you those things, which be most clear, and seem to repugn most manifestly against God's word. And they be these. N. Rid. 1 Tim. i.

The strange tongue: the want of the shewing of the Lord's death: the breaking of the Lord's commandment of having a communion: the Sacrament is not communicated to all under both kinds, according to the word of the Lord: the sign is servilely worshipped, for the thing signified: Christ's passion is injured, forasmuch as this mass sacrifice is affirmed to remain for the purging of sins. To be short, the manifold superstitions and trifling fondness, which are in the mass and about the same. Matt. xxvi.

H. LATIMER.

Better a few things well pondered, than to trouble the memory with too much. You shall prevail more with praying, than with studying, though mixture be best; for so one shall alleviate the tediousness of the other. I intend not to contend much with them in words, after a reasonable account of my faith given; for it shall be but in vain. They will say as their fathers said, when they have no more to say, "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die." "Be ye steadfast and unmoveable," saith St Paul. And again, *persistito*, "Stand fast." And how oft is this repeated, "If ye abide, if ye abide," &c. But we shall be called obstinate, sturdy, ignorant, heady, and what not. So that a man hath need of much patience, having to do with such men. H. Lat. John xix. 1 Cor. xv. 2 Tim. iii. John xv. Col. i.

The Third Objection of the Antonian.

But you know how great a crime it is, to separate yourself from the communion or fellowship of the church, and to Anton. Objct. III.

make a schism or division. You have been reported to have hated the sect of the Anabaptists, and always to have impugned the same. Moreover, this was the pernicious error of Novatus, and of the heretics called Cathari, that they would not communicate with the church.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. I know that the unity of the church is to be retained by all means, and the same to be necessary to salvation. But I do not take the mass, as it is at this day, for the communion of the church, but for a popish device, whereby both the commandment and institution of our Saviour Christ, for the oft frequenting of the remembrance of his death, is eluded, and the people of God are miserably deluded. The sect of the Anabaptists, and the heresy of the Novatians, ought of right to be condemned; forasmuch as, without any just or necessary cause, they wickedly separated themselves from the communion of the congregation. For they did not allege that the Sacraments were unduly ministered; but turning away their eyes from themselves, wherewith, according to St Paul's rule, they ought to examine themselves, and casting their eyes ever upon others, either ministers or communicants with them, they always reproved some thing, for the which they abstained from the communion, as from
Cor. xi. an unholy thing.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. I remember, that Calvin beginneth to confute the Interim after this sort, with this saying of Hilary, "The name
Hilarius cont. Auxent. of peace is beautiful, and the opinion of unity is fair; but who doubteth that to be the true and only peace of the church, which is Christ's[1]?" I would you had that little book, there should you see how much is to be given to unity. St Paul, when he requireth unity, he joineth straight withal,
Rom. xv. *secundum Jesum Christum*, "according to Jesus Christ," no

[1 Speciosum quidem nomen est pacis, et pulchra est opinio unitatis: sed quis ambigat eam solam ecclesiæ atque Evangeliorum unitam pacem esse, quæ Christi est? S. Hil. Op. Bas. 1550. p. 294. Ed.]

further. Diotrephes now of late did ever harp upon Unity, Unity. "Yea, Sir," (quoth I), "but in verity, not in popery. Better is a diversity than an unity in popery." I had nothing again but scornful jeers, with commandment to the Tower.

The Fourth Objection of the Antonian.

ANTON. OBJECT. IV.

But admit there be in the mass that peradventure might be amended, or at least made better: yea, seeing you will have it so, admit there be a fault; if you do not consent thereto, why do you trouble yourself in vain? Do not you know, both by Cyprian and Augustine, that communion of Sacraments doth not defile a man, but consent of deeds[2]?

Cyp. lib. i. Epist. 2. Aug. ep. 152.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. RID.

If it were any one trifling ceremony, or if it were some one thing of itself indifferent, although I would wish nothing should be done in the church which doth not edify the same, yet for the continuance of the common quietness I could be content to bear it. But forasmuch as things done in the mass tend openly to the overthrow of Christ's institution, I judge that by no means, either in word or deed, I ought to consent unto it. As for that which is objected out of the Fathers, I acknowledge it to be well spoken, if it be well understood. But it is meant of them which suppose they are defiled, if any secret vice be either in the ministers or in them that communicate with them; and is not meant of them which do abhor superstition and wicked traditions of men, and will not suffer the same to be thrust

[[2] S. Cyp. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726, Ep. LII. p. 66. The whole epistle, which is too long for quotation, infers the truth of this proposition, but it is no where laid down in it, in express terms like those of St Augustine. The latter in commenting on the Epistle of Cyprian uses the words "discessit ab eis dissimilitudine morum, non divisione sacramentorum. Cont. Gaudent. lib. II. cap. 9.

Quia COMMUNIO MALORUM non maculat aliquem participatione sacramentorum, sed consensione factorum. S. Aug. Epist. ad populum factionis Donatistanæ. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ii. Ordo novus Epist. CXLI. col. 453. ED.]

upon themselves or upon the church instead of God's word and the truth of the gospel.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. The very marrow-bones of the mass are altogether detestable, and therefore by no means to be borne withal, so that, of necessity, the mending of it is to abolish it for ever. For if you take away oblation and adoration, which do hang upon consecration and transubstantiation, the most papists of them all will not set a button by the mass, as a thing which they esteem not, but for the gain that followeth thereon. For if the English Communion, which of late was used, were as gainful to them as the mass hath been heretofore, they would strive no more for their mass. From thence groweth the grief.

The Fifth Objection of the Antonian.

Anton. Object. V. Consider into what dangers you cast yourself, if you forsake the church. And you cannot but forsake it, if you refuse to go to mass. For the mass is the sacrament of unity: without the ark there is no salvation. The church is the ark, and Peter's ship. Ye know this saying well enough;

Aug. Lib. iv. de Sym. cap. 13. Epist. cxli. "He shall not have God to be his father, which acknowledgeth not the church to be his mother[1]." Moreover, "Without the church, saith St Augustine, be the life never so well spent, it shall not inherit the kingdom of heaven[2]."

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. 1 Tim. iii. Apoc. xxi. Eph. i. The holy catholic or universal church, which is the communion of saints, the house of God, the city of God, the spouse of Christ, the body of Christ, the pillar and stay of

[1 Nec habebit Deum Patrem, qui Ecclesiam noluerit habere matrem. S. Aug. De Symb. lib. iv. cap. 13. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. vi. col. 582. Ed.]

[2 Quisquis ergo ab hac catholica Ecclesia fuerit separatus, quantumlibet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo sclere, quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est, non habebit vitam. S. Aug. Epist. cxli. ad pop. fact. Don. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ii. col. 458. Ed.]

the truth; this church I believe, according to the Creed: this church I do reverence and honour in the Lord. But the rule of this church is the word of God, according to which rule we go forward unto life. "And as many as walk according to this rule," I say with St Paul, "peace be upon them and upon Israel, which pertaineth unto God." The guide of this church is the Holy Ghost. The marks whereby this church is known unto me in this dark world, and in the midst of this crooked and froward generation, are these—the sincere preaching of God's word; the due administration of the sacraments; charity; and faithful observing of ecclesiastical discipline according to the word of God. And that church or congregation, which is garnished with these marks, is in very deed that heavenly Jerusalem, which consisteth of those that be born from above. This is the mother of us all: and, by God's grace, I will live and die the child of this church. Forth of this (I grant) there is no salvation, and, I suppose, the residue of the places objected are rightly to be understood of this church only. "In times past," (saith Chrysostom) "there were many ways to know the church of Christ, that is to say, by good life, by miracles, by chastity, by doctrine, by ministering the sacraments. But from that time that heresies did take hold of the churches, it is only known by the scriptures which is the true church. They have all things in outward show, which the true church hath in truth. They have temples like unto ours," &c. And in the end concludeth, "Wherefore only by the Scriptures do we know which is the true church."

Gal. vi.

Philip. ii.

Rev. xxi. Gal. iv. John iii.

In opere imperfecto Hom. 49, on Matth.

To that which they say, "The mass is the sacrament of unity;" I answer, The bread which we break, according to the institution of the Lord, is the sacrament of the unity of Christ's mystical body. "For we, being many, are one bread and one body, forasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread." But in the mass the Lord's institution is not observed: for we be not all partakers of one bread, but one devoureth all, &c. So that, as it is used, it may seem a sacrament of singularity, and of a certain special privilege for one sect of people, whereby they may be discerned from the rest, rather than a sacrament of unity, wherein our knitting together in one is represented.

1 Cor. x.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. Yea, what fellowship hath Christ with Antichrist? Therefore is it not lawful to bear the yoke with papists. "Come forth from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord." It is one thing to be the church indeed, another thing to counterfeit the church. Would God, it were well known what is the forsaking of the church! In the king's days that dead is, who was the church of England? The king and his fautors; or massmongers in corners? If the king and the fautors of his proceedings; why be not we now the church, abiding in the same proceedings? If clancularly massmongers might be of the church, and yet contrary the king's proceedings; why may not we as well be of the church, contrarying the queen's proceedings?

2 Cor. vi.

Not all that be covered with the title of the church, are the church indeed. "Separate thyself from them that are such," saith St Paul. From whom? The text hath before, "If any man follow other doctrine, &c. he is puffed up and knoweth nothing," &c. Weigh the whole text, that ye may perceive what is the fruit of contentious disputations. But wherefore are such men said to know nothing, when they know so many things? You know the old verses,

1 Tim. vi.

Hoc est nescire, sine Christo plurima scire;
Si Christum bene scis, satis est, si cætera nescis.

That is, "This is to be ignorant; to know many things without Christ. If thou knowest Christ well, thou knowest enough, though thou know no more." Therefore would St Paul know nothing but Jesus Christ crucified, &c. As many as are papists and massmongers, they may well be said to know nothing. For they know not Christ: forasmuch as in their massing they take much away from the benefit and merit of Christ.

1 Cor. ii.

The Sixth Objection of the Antonian.

Anton. Object. VI. That church which you have described unto me is invisible, but Christ's church is visible and known. For else why would Christ have said, *Dic ecclesiæ*, "Tell it unto the church?" For he had commanded in vain to go unto the church, if a man cannot tell which is it.

Matt. xviii.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

The church which I have described is visible; it hath members, which may be seen, and also I have before declared by what marks and tokens it may be known. But if either our eyes are so dazzled that we cannot see, or that Satan hath brought such darkness into the world that it is hard to discern the true church; that is not the fault of the church, but either of our blindness, or of Satan's darkness. But yet in this most deep darkness there is one most clear candle, which, of itself alone, is able to put away all darkness. "Thy word is a candle unto my feet, and a light unto my steps." N. Rid. Ps. cxix.

The Seventh Objection of the Antonian.

The church of Christ is a catholic or universal church, dispersed throughout the whole world. This church is the great house of God. In this are good men and evil mingled together, goats and sheep, corn and chaff. It is the net, which gathereth all kind of fishes. This church cannot err, because Christ hath promised it his spirit, which shall lead it into all truth, and that the gates of hell shall not prevail against it; that he will be with it unto the end of the world. Whatsoever it shall loose or bind upon earth, shall be ratified in heaven, &c. This church is the pillar and stay of the truth; this is it for the which St Augustine[1] saith, he believeth the gospel. But this universal church alloweth the mass, because the more part of the same alloweth it. Therefore, &c. Anton. Object. VII. Matt. xxv. Matt. xvi. Matt. xxviii. 1 Tim. iii. Contra Epist. fundament. cap. 5.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

I grant that the name of the church is taken after three divers manners in the scripture. N. Rid.

[1 Ego verò evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas. S. Aug. cont. Ep. Fund. cap. 5. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. viii. col. 154. Ed.]

Sometime for the whole multitude of them which profess the name of Christ, of the which they are also named christians. But, as St Paul saith of the Jew, "Not every one is a Jew, that is a Jew outwardly, &c. Neither yet all that be of Israel are counted the seed." Even so, not every one which is a christian outwardly, is a christian indeed. For "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is none of his." Therefore that church, which is his body, and of which Christ is the head, standeth only of living stones and true christians, not only outwardly in name and title, but inwardly in heart and in truth.

Rom. ii. ix. viii.

1 Pet. ii.

But forasmuch as this church, which is the second taking of the church, as touching the outward fellowship, is contained within that great house, and hath with the same outward society of the sacraments and ministry of the word; many things are spoken of that universal church (which St Augustine[1] calleth the mingled church) which cannot truly be understood, but only of that purer part of the church. So that the rule of Tyconius concerning the mingled church may here well take place; when there is attributed unto the whole church that which cannot agree unto the same, but by reason of the one part thereof; that is, either for the multitude of good men, which is the church indeed; or for the multitude of evil men, which is the malignant church and synagogue of Satan.

Aug. de doct. Christ. lib. iii. cap. 32.

Rev. ii.

And [*this*] is also the third taking of the church, of the which, although there be seldomer mention in the scriptures in that signification, yet in the world, even in the most famous assemblies of Christendom, this church hath borne the greatest swing. This distinction presupposed of the three sorts of churches, it is an easy matter, by a figure called synedoche, to give to the mingled and universal

[1] Regula Secunda Tichonii—"Secunda est *de Domini corpore bipartito*, quod quidem non ita debuit appellari; non enim re vera Domini corpus est quod cum illo non erit in æternum; sed dicendum fuit, de Domini corpore vero atque permixto, aut vero atque simulato, vel quid aliud; quia non solum in æternum, verum etiam nunc hypocritæ non cum illo esse dicendi sunt, quamvis in ejus esse videantur Ecclesia, unde poterat ista regula et sic appellari, ut diceretur de permixta Ecclesia. S. Aug. de doct. Christ. lib. III. cap. 32. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iii. p. 1, col. 58. Ed.]

church that which cannot truly be understood but only of the one part thereof.

But if any man will stiffly affirm, that universality doth so pertain unto the church, that whatsoever Christ hath promised to the church, it must needs be understanded of that, I would gladly know of the same man where that universal church was, in the times of the patriarchs and prophets, of Noah, Abraham, and Moses (at such times as the people would have stoned him,) of Elias, of Jeremy,—in the time of Christ, and the dispersion of the apostles,—in the time of Arius, when Constantius was emperor, and Felix, bishop of Rome, succeeded Liberius?

Exod. xvii. 1 Kings xix. Jer. xxxii. Theod. Ecc. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 15 & 16.

It is worthy to be noted, that Lyra writeth upon Matthew: "The church, saith he, doth not stand in men, by reason of their power or dignity, whether it be ecclesiastical or secular. For many princes and popes and other inferiors have been found to have fallen away from God[2]." Therefore the church consisteth in those persons in whom is true knowledge and confession of the faith and of the truth. Evil men, (as it is in a gloss of the Decrees) are in the church in name, and not in deed[3]. And St Augustine, *Contra Cresconium grammaticum*[4], saith, "Whosoever is afraid to be deceived by the darkness of this question, let him ask counsel at the same church of it, which church the scripture doth point out without any doubtfulness." All my notes which I have written and gathered out of such authors as I have read in this matter and such like, are come into the hands of such as will not let me have the least of all my written books. Wherein I am enforced to complain of them unto God: for they spoil me of all my labours which I have taken in

Lyra in Matt.

De Pœnit. dist. 1, cap. Eccles.

Lib. i. cap. 33.

[2] Ecclesia non consistit in hominibus, ratione potestatis vel dignitatis ecclesiasticæ vel secularis, quia multi principes, et summi pontifices et alii inferiores inventi sunt apostasse à fide. Bibl. Lat. cum gloss. ord. et Nic. de Lyra. Ed. Bas. 1502. fol. 52. in Matth. xvi. cap. Ed.]

[3] Vel distingue, nam sunt quidam in Ecclesia, nomine et re, ut boni Catholici, quidam nomine nec re, ut præcisi, quidam nomine tantum—quidam re tantum. Decret. 2 Pars Causa xxxiii. Quæst. 3. de Penit. dist. i. cap. 70. Decret. Grat. Ed. Par. 1585, col. 2092. Ed.]

[4] S. Aug. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom ix. col. 407. Quisquis falli metuit, hujus obscuritate quæstionis, eamdem ecclesiam de illa consulat quam sine ulla ambiguitate Sancta Scriptura demonstrat. Ed.]

my study these many years. My memory was never good: for help whereof I have used for the most part to gather out notes of my reading, and so to place them, that thereby I might have had the use of them, when the time required. But who knoweth whether this be God's will that I should be thus ordered, and spoiled of the poor learning I had (as methought) in store, to the intent that I, now destitute of that, should from henceforth learn only to know, with Paul, Christ and him crucified? The Lord grant me herein to be a good young scholar, and to learn this lesson so well, that neither death nor life, wealth nor woe, &c. make me ever to forget that. Amen. Amen.

1 Cor. ii.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat.

I have no more to say in this matter; for you yourself have said all that is to be said. That same vehement saying of St Augustine, "I would not believe the gospel, &c." was wont to trouble many men: as I remember I have read it well qualified of Philip Melancthon, but my memory is altogether slippery. This it is in effect. The church is not a judge, but a witness[1]. There were in his time that lightly esteemed the testimony of the church, and the outward ministry of preaching, and rejected the outward word itself, sticking only to their inward revelations. Such rash contempt of the word provoked and drove St Augustine into that excessive vehemence. In the which, after the bare sound of the words, he

Mel. de Eccles.

[1 Quod Augustinus ait, "Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas;" hæc verba non hoc volunt, quod Ecclesiæ auctoritas major sit quam evangelii seu scripturæ, aut quod Ecclesia possit evangelium abolere. Sed quùm fides affirmet aliquid certi de voluntate Dei, necesse est eam non ab humana auctoritate pendere, sicut et Johannes inquit, Deum nemo vidit unquam, Unigenitus filius qui est in sinu Patris, ille enarravit. Ecclesia tantum testatur hanc scripturam divinitus acceptam esse, sicut nuncius testatur se mandata Domini perferre. Fides igitur quæ affirmat de voluntate Dei pendet ex ipso verbo Dei, etiamsi ad cognitionem verbi invitatur Ecclesiæ testimonio, sicut Judex non credit narrationi, nisi propter testes. Nec tamen sequitur quod testes mutare narrationem possint: item nuncio credimus, nec sequitur quod nuncius mutare mandata possit. Ita Ecclesiæ credimus tanquam testi aut nuncio. Melanct. Op. Ed. Wit. 1601, tom. iv. p. 502. Disputatio Secunda de Eccles. cap. 17—22. Ed.]

might seem to such as do not attain unto his meaning, that he preferred the church far before the gospel, and that the church hath a free authority over the same. But that godly man never thought so. It were a saying worthy to be brought forth against the Anabaptists, which think the open ministry to be a thing not necessary, if they anything esteemed such testimonies. I would not stick to affirm, that the more part of the great house, that is to say, of the whole universal church, may easily err. And again, I would not stick to affirm, that it is one thing to be gathered together in the name of Christ, and another thing to come together with a mass of the Holy Ghost going before[2]. For in the first Christ ruleth; in the latter, the devil beareth the swing, and how then can anything be good that they go about? From this latter shall our six articles come forth again into the light, they themselves being very darkness.

But it is demanded, whether the sounder or better part of the catholic church may be seen of men or no? St Paul saith, "The Lord knoweth them that are his." What manner of speaking is this, in commendation of the Lord, if we know as well as he, who are his? Well, thus is the text, "The sure foundation of God standeth still, and hath this seal: the Lord knoweth them that are his. And let every man that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity." Now, how many are there of the whole catholic church of England which depart from iniquity? How many of the noblemen, how many of the bishops or clergy, how many of the rich men or merchants, how many of the queen's councillors, yea, how many of the whole realm? In how small room then, I pray you, is the true church within the realm of England? And where is it? And in what state? I had a conceit of mine own, well grounded (as they say) when I began, but now it is fallen by the way.

A question.

Answer.

The Eighth Objection of the Antonian.

General councils represent the universal church, and have this promise of Christ: "Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." Matt. xviii.

Anton. Object. VIII.

[2] See note E. at the end of the volume. Ed.]

If Christ will be present with two or three, then much more where there is so great a multitude, &c. But in general councils mass hath been approved and used. Therefore, &c.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. Of the universal church, which is mingled of good and bad, thus I think: Whensoever they which be chief in it, which rule and govern the same, and to whom the rest of the whole mystical body of Christ doth obey, are the lively members of Christ, and walk after the guiding and rule of his word, and go before the flock towards everlasting life; then undoubtedly councils, gathered together of such guides and pastors of the christian flock, do indeed represent the universal church; and, being so gathered in the name of Christ, they have a promise of the gift and guiding of his Spirit into all truth. But that any such council hath at any time allowed the mass, such a one as ours was of late, in a strange tongue, and stuffed with so many absurdities, errors, and superstitions; that I utterly deny, and I affirm it to be impossible. For like as there is no agreement between light
2 Cor. vi. and darkness, between Christ and Belial; so surely superstition and the sincere religion of Christ, will-worship and
Joh. iv. the pure worshipping of God, such as God requireth of his, that is, in spirit and truth, can never agree together. But ye will say, where so great a company is gathered together, it is not credible, but there be two or three gathered in the name of Christ. I answer, if there be one hundred good, and two hundred bad, forasmuch as the decrees and ordinances are pronounced according to the greater number of the multitude of voices, what can the lesser number of voices avail? It is a known thing, and a com-
A proverb. mon proverb, "Oftentimes the greater part overcometh the better."

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. The inconstancy of the English parliaments and convocations. As touching general councils, at this present I have no more to say, than you have said. Only I refer you to your own experience, to think of our country parliaments and convocations, how and what ye have there seen and heard.

The more part in my time did bring forth the six articles; for then the king would so have it, being seduced of certain. Afterward the more part did repeal the same, our good Josiah willing to have it so. The same articles now again, alas! another greater, but worse part hath restored. O what an uncertainty is this! But after this sort most commonly are man's proceedings. God be merciful unto us! Who shall deliver us from such torments of mind? Therefore is death the best physician, but unto the faithful, whom she together and at once delivereth from all griefs.—You must think this written upon this occasion, because you would needs have your paper blotted.

Death the best physician to the faithful.

The Ninth Objection of the Antonian.

If the matter should go thus, that in general councils men shall not stand to the more number of the whole multitude (I mean of them which ought to give voices), then should no certain rule be left unto the church, by the which controversies in weighty matters might be determined. But it is not to be believed, that Christ would leave his church destitute of so necessary a help and safeguard.

Anton. Object. IX.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

Christ, who is the most loving spouse of his espoused the church, who also gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it unto himself, did give unto it abundantly all things which are necessary to salvation, but yet so, that the church should declare itself obedient unto him in all things, and keep itself within the bounds of his commandments, and further not to seek any thing, which he teacheth not, as necessary unto salvation. Now further, for determination of all controversies in Christ's religion, Christ himself hath left unto the church not only Moses and the prophets, whom he willeth his church in all doubts to go unto and ask counsel at; but also the Gospels and the rest of the body of the New Testament. In the which, whatsoever is hard in Moses and the prophets, whatsoever is necessary to be known unto salvation, is revealed and opened.

N. Rid. Eph. v.

Luke xvi.

Isai. viii.

Rom. x. So that now we have no need to say, Who shall climb into heaven, or who shall go down into the depth, to tell what is needful to be done? Christ hath done both, and hath commended unto us the word of faith, which also is abundantly declared unto us in his word written; so that hereafter, if we walk earnestly in this way, to the searching out of the truth, it is not to be doubted but through the certain benefit of Christ's Spirit, which he hath promised unto his, we may find it, and obtain everlasting life. "Should men ask counsel of the dead for the living?" saith Esay. "Let them go rather to the law and to the testimony," &c. Christ sendeth them that be desirous to know the truth unto the scriptures, saying, "Search the scriptures." I remember a like thing well spoken by Hierome, "Ignorance of the scriptures is the mother and cause of all errors." And in another place, as I remember in the same author, "The knowledge of the scriptures is the food of everlasting life." But now methinketh I enter into a very broad sea, in that I begin to shew, either out of the scriptures themselves, or out of the ancient writers, how much the holy scripture is of force to teach the truth of our religion. But this is it that I am now about, that Christ would have the church, his spouse, in all doubts to ask counsel at the word of his Father, written, and faithfully left and commended unto it in both Testaments, the Old and the New. Neither do we read that Christ in any place hath laid so great a burden upon the members of his spouse, that he hath commanded them to go to the universal church. "Whatsoever things are written," saith Paul, "are written for our learning:" and it is true that "Christ gave unto his church some apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some shepherds and teachers, to the edifying of the saints, till we all come to the unity of faith," &c. But that all men should meet together, out of all parts of the world, to define of the articles of our faith, I neither find it commanded of Christ, nor written in the word of God.

Luke xi. Isai. viii. Joh. v. Rom. xv. Eph. iv.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. There is a diversity betwixt things pertaining to God or faith, and politic and civil matters. For in the first we must

stand only to the scriptures, which are able to make us all perfect and instructed unto salvation, if they be well understood. And they offer themselves to be well understood only to them which have good wills, and give themselves to study and prayer. Neither are there any men less apt to understand them than the prudent and wise men of the world. 2 Tim. iii.

But in the other, that is, in civil or politic matters, oftentimes the magistrates do tolerate a less evil for avoiding of a greater; as they which have this saying oft in their mouths, "Better an inconvenience than a mischief:" and, "It is the property of a wise man," saith one, "to dissemble many things, and he that cannot dissemble cannot rule." In which sayings they bewray themselves, that they do not earnestly weigh what is just, what is not. Wherefore, forasmuch as man's laws, if it be but in this respect only, that they be devised by men, are not able to bring any thing to perfection, but are enforced of necessity to suffer many things out of square, and are compelled sometime to wink at the worst things; seeing they know not how to maintain the common peace and quiet; otherwise they do ordain that the more part shall take place. You know what these kinds of speeches mean, "I speak after the manner of men."—"Ye walk after the manner of men."—"All men are liars." And that of St Augustine, "If ye live after man's reason, ye do not live after the will of God[1]." Gal. iii. 1 Cor. iii. Rom. iii. Ps. cxvi. Lib. i. Retract. cap. 10.

The Tenth Objection of the Antonian.

If ye say that councils have sometimes erred, or may err, how then should we believe the catholic church? For the councils are gathered by the authority of the catholic church. Anton. Object. X.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

From "may be," to "be indeed," is no good argument; but from "being," to "may be," no man doubteth but it is N. Rid.

[1 S. Aug. Retract. lib. i. cap. 10. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. i. col. 16. In the 9th and 10th chapters the sense of these words may frequently be inferred, but the words themselves do not occur. Ed.]

Socratis Ecc. Hist. lib. ii.

a most sure argument. But now that councils have sometime erred it is manifest. How many councils were there in the east part of the world, which condemned the Nicene council? And all those which would not forsake the same, they called by a slanderous name (as they thought) 'Homousians.' Were not Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, Eustachius, men very well learned and of godly life, banished, and condemned as famous heretics, and that by wicked councils? How many things are there in the canons and constitutions of the councils, which the papists themselves do much mislike?

Socratis Ecc. Hist. lib. i. cap. 24 et 32. Theod. lib. v. cap. 34.

Objection.

But here, peradventure, one man will say unto me, "We will grant you this in provincial councils, or councils of some one nation, that they may sometimes err, forasmuch as they do not represent the universal church: but it is not to be believed, that the general and full councils have erred at any time." Here, if I had my books of the councils, or rather such notes as I have gathered out of those books, I could bring something which should serve for this purpose. But now seeing I have them not, I will recite one place only out of St Augustine, which (in my judgment) may suffice in this matter, instead of many[1]. "Who knoweth not," saith he, "that the holy Scripture is so set before us, that it is not lawful to doubt of it, and that the letters of bishops may be reproved by other wiser men's words, and by councils; and that the councils themselves, which are gathered by

Answer.

De bap. contra Donat. lib. ii. cap. 3.

[1 Quis autem nesciat sanctam scripturam canonicam, tam veteris quam novi Testamenti, certis suis terminis contineri, eamque omnibus posterioribus episcoporum literis ita præponi, ut de illo omnino dubitari et disceptari non possit, utrum verum vel utrum rectum sit, quidquid in ea scriptum esse constiterit; episcoporum autem literas, quæ post confirmatum canonem vel scriptæ sunt vel scribuntur, et per sermonem forte sapientiorem cujuslibet in ea re peritioris, et per aliorum episcoporum graviorem auctoritatem doctioremque prudentiam, et per concilia licere reprehendi, si quid in eis fortè à veritate deviatum est; et ipsa concilia, quæ per singulas regiones vel provincias fiunt, plenariorum conciliorum auctoritati, quæ fiunt ex universo orbe Christiano, sine ullis ambagibus cedere; ipsaque plenaria sæpe priora posterioribus emendari, cum aliquo experimento rerum aperitur quod clausum erat, et cognoscitur quod latebat? S. Aug. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ix. col. 98. Ed.]

provinces and countries, do give place to the authority of the general and full councils; and that the former general councils are amended by the latter, when as by some experience of things, either that which was shut up is opened, or that which was hid is known?" Thus much of Augustine. But I will plead with our Antonian upon matter confessed here with us, whenas papistry reigned. I pray you, how doth that book, which was called "The Bishop's Book[2]," made in the time of king Henry VIII, whereof the bishop of Winchester is thought to be either the first father or chief gatherer, how doth it (I say) sharply reprove the Florentine council[3], in which was decreed the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and that with the consent of the emperor of Constantinople and of the Grecians? So that, in those days, our learned ancient fathers and bishops of England did not stick to affirm, that a general council might err. The Bishop's Book.

But methinketh I hear another man despising all that I have brought forth, and saying, "These which you have called councils, are not worthy to be called councils, but rather assemblies and conventicles of heretics." "I pray you, sir, why do you judge them worthy of so slanderous a name?" —"Because," saith he, "they decreed things heretical, contrary to true godliness and sound doctrine, and against the faith of christian religion." The cause is weighty, for the which they ought of right so to be called. But if it be so, that all councils ought to be despised, which decreed anything contrary to sound doctrine, and the true word, which is according to godliness; forsomuch as the mass, such as we have had here of late, is openly against the word of God, forsooth it must follow of necessity, that all such councils as have approved such masses, ought of right to be fled and despised, as conventicles and assemblies of men that stray from the truth. 1 Tim. vi.

[2 See note F. at the end of the volume. Ed.]

[3 This council was originally assembled at Ferrara by Eugene IV. Jan. 10, 1438, in opposition to that of Basil. It was attended by John Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, and Joseph, Patriarch of the same city. In consequence of the plague it removed to Florence, Feb. 29, 1439, till April 26, 1442. Ed.]

The bishop of Rome's authority.

Another man allegeth unto me the authority of the bishop of Rome, "without which neither can the councils," saith he, "be lawfully gathered, neither, being gathered, determine anything concerning religion." But this objection is only grounded upon the ambitious and shameless maintenance of the Romish tyranny and usurped dominion over the clergy, which tyranny we Englishmen long ago, by the consent of the whole realm, have expelled and abjured. And how rightly we have done it, a little book set forth, *De utraque Potestate*[1], that is, "Of both the Powers," doth clearly shew. I grant, that the Romish ambition hath gone about to challenge to itself and to usurp such a privilege from old time. But the council of Carthage, in the year of our Lord 457, did openly withstand it[2]; and also the council at Milevite, in the which St Augustine was present, did prohibit any appellations to be made to bishops beyond the sea[3].

England abjured the pope's supremacy.

Conc. Carth. 3.

Can. xxii.

The Eleventh Objection of the Antonian.

Anton. Object. XI.

St Augustine saith, "The [4]good men are not to be forsaken for the evil, but the evil are to be borne withal for the good." Ye will not say (I trow) that in our congregations all be evil.

Epist. xlviii.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid.

I speak nothing of the goodness or evilness of your congregations, but I fight in Christ's quarrel against the mass,

[1] See note G. at the end of the volume. Ed.]

[2] The third Council of Carthage was held A.D. 397. The protest here mentioned is to be gathered rather from the spirit than the letter of its canons. See L'Abbé, tom. ii. col. 1165. Ed. Par. 1671. Ed.]

[3] Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur. L'Abbé, Conc. tom. ii. col. 1543. Ed. Par. 1671. Ed.]

[4] Non enim propter malos boni deserendi, sed propter bonos mali tolerandi sunt. S. Aug. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ii. col. 238. Ordo novus, Ep. xcm. Ed.]

which doth utterly take away and overthrow the ordinance of Christ. Let that be taken quite away, and then the partition of the wall that made the strife shall be broken down. Now to the place of St Augustine for "Bearing with the evil for the good's sake," there ought to be added other words, which the same writer hath expressedly in other places; that is, "If those evil men do cast abroad no seeds of false doctrine, nor lead other to destruction by their example[5]." Aug. cont. literas Parm. lib. iii. cap. 2 & 3.

The Twelfth Objection of the Antonian.

It is perilous to attempt any new thing in the church, which lacketh the example of good men. How much more perilous is it, to commit any act unto the which the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles are contrary! But unto this your fact, in abstaining from the church by reason of the mass, the example of the prophets, of Christ, and of the apostles, are clean contrary. Therefore, &c. The first part of the argument is evident, and the second part I prove thus. In the times of the prophets, of Christ, and of his apostles, all things were most corrupt. The people was miserably given to superstition, the priests despised the law of God; and yet, notwithstanding, we neither read that the prophets made any schisms or divisions; and Christ himself haunted the temple, and taught in the temple of the Jews. Luke xxi. Peter and John went up into the temple at the ninth hour Acts iii. of prayer. Paul, after the reading of the law, being desired to say something to the people, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can shew that either the prophets, or Christ and his apostles, did refuse to pray together with others, to sacrifice or to be partakers of the sacraments of Moses' law. Anton. Object. XII.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

I grant the former part of your argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things, N. Rid.

[5 S. Aug. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ix. col. 58. The words here quoted do not occur in the passages referred to, but the sense of the two chapters is the same. Ed.]

as of the corrupt state in the times of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles; and of the temple being haunted of Christ and his apostles; yet, notwithstanding, the second part of your argument is not sufficiently proved; for ye ought to have proved, that either the prophets, either Christ, or his apostles, did in the temple communicate with the people in any kind of worshipping which is forbidden by the law of God, or repugnant to the word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the people, to hear the word of God, and to do all other things, whatsoever may agree with the word of God. St Augustine, speaking of the ceremonies of the Jews[1], (I suppose in the epistle *ad Januarium*,) although he grant they grievously oppressed that people, both for the number and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not presumptions of men; which notwithstanding, if they were not contrary to God's word, might after a sort be borne withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those which are in the word of God written, whether they ought to be borne of any christian or no let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loveth everlasting life more than this short and transitory life. To that which was said, that my fact lacketh example of the godly fathers that have gone before, the contrary is most evident in the history of Tobit: of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden calves, which Hieroboam the King of Israel had made, he himself alone fled all their companies, and got him to Jerusalem unto the temple of the Lord, and there worshipped the Lord God of Israel.

Epist. cxix. cap. 19.

Tobit i.

Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues, both unto the priests of Bethel, and to the altar which Hieroboam had there made after his own fantasy? Which plagues king Josiah, the true minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where do we read that the prophets or the apostles did agree with the people in their idolatry? When-

1 Kings xiii.

2 Kings xxiii.

[1] Legalibus tamen sarcinis, non humanis præsumtionibus (*Judæi*) subjiciuntur. S. Aug. Epist. cxix. cap. 19, Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685. Ordo novus, Epist. lv. tom. ii. col. 142. Ed.]

as the people went a whoring with their hill altars, for what cause (I pray you) did the prophets rebuke the people so much, as for their false worshipping of God, after their own minds, and not after God's word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false prophets ceased not to malign the true prophets of God; therefore they beat them, they banished them, &c. How else, I pray you, can you understand that St Paul allegeth when he says, "What concord hath Christ with Belial? Either what part hath the believer with the infidel? Or how agreeth the temple of God with images? For ye are the temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and walk among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore come out from among them, and separate yourselves from them, saith the Lord, and touch none unclean thing; so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty." Judith that holy woman would not suffer herself to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the saints of God which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do anything, which they knew to be contrary to God's law, have chosen to die rather than to forsake the laws of their God.

Jer. xx. Heb. xi. 2 Cor. vi. Levit. xxvi. Isai. lii. Judith xii.

Wherefore the Maccabees put themselves in danger of death for the defence of the law, yea, and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. "If we do praise," saith St Augustine, "the Maccabees, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand even unto death for the laws of their country, how much more ought we to suffer all things for our baptism, for the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ[2], &c.?" But the supper of our Lord, such

2 Macc. vii. Cont. Sec. Epist. Gaudentii, cap. 23.

[2 S. Aug. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ix. col. 635. The words here quoted do not occur—the nearest approach to them is as follows:—Sed (scriptura Macchabæorum) recepta est ab Ecclesiâ non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur, maxime propter illos Macchabæos qui pro lege Dei, sicut veri martyres, a persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt, ut etiam hinc populus Christianus adverteret, quoniam non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam quæ revelabitur in nobis, pro quibus passus est Christus.—Ib. col. 655. Ed.]

a one, I mean, as Christ commandeth us to celebrate, the mass utterly abolisheth and corrupteth most shamefully.

H. LATIMER.

H. Lat. Who am I, that I should add any thing to this, which you have so well spoken? Nay, I rather thank you, that you have vouchsafed to minister so plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed: saving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now and then praying unto my God, Ps. ix. that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

The Thirteenth Objection of the Antonian.

Anton. Object. XIII. Seeing you are so obstinately set against the mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a tongue not understanded of the people, and for other causes, (I cannot tell what,) therefore it is not the true sacrament ordained of Christ, I begin to suspect you, that you think not catholicly of baptism also. Is our baptism, which we do use in a tongue unknown to the people, the true baptism of Christ or not? If it be, then doth not the strange tongue hurt the mass. If it be not the baptism of Christ, tell me how were you baptized? Or whether ye will, (as the Anabaptists do) that all which were baptized in Latin, should be baptized again in the English tongue.

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. Although I would wish baptism to be given in the vulgar tongue, for the people's sake, which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their children the same; yet, notwithstanding, there is not like necessity of the vulgar tongue in baptism, as in the Lord's supper. Baptism is given to children, who by reason of their age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, (*in*) what tongue soever it be. The Lord's supper is and ought to be given to them that are

waxen. Moreover in baptism, which is accustomed to be given to children in the Latin tongue, all the substantial points, (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that baptism to be a perfect and true baptism, and that it is not only not needful, but also not lawful, for any man so christened to be christened again. But yet, notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the catechism of the christian faith, when they shall come to years of discretion; which catechism whosoever despiseth, or will not desirously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a christian man. But in the popish mass are wanting certain substantials, that is to say, things commanded by the word of God to be observed in ministration of the Lord's supper, of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

H. LATIMER.

Where you say, "I would wish," surely I would wish that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, "It is of necessity, that all things in the congregation should be done in the vulgar tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present." Notwithstanding that the child itself is sufficiently baptized in the Latin tongue. H. LAT.

The Fourteenth Objection of the Antonian.

Forasmuch as I perceive you are so stiffly, I will not say obstinately, bent, and so wedded to your own opinion, that no gentle exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind; there remaineth that which in like cases was wont to be the only remedy against stiffnecked and stubborn persons; that is, you must be hampered by the laws, and compelled either to obey, whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a rebel to the laws ought to suffer. Do you not know, that whosoever refuseth to obey the laws of the realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his country? Do you not know, that this is the readiest way to stir up sedition and civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin, than that, through the example of your breach of the ANTON. OBJECT. XIV.

common laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say you will be the queen's true subject, whenas you do openly profess that you will not keep her laws?

The Answer.

N. RIDLEY.

N. Rid. O! heavenly Father, the Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee, for thy only Son our Saviour Christ's sake, look mercifully upon me, wretched creature, and send thine Holy Spirit into my breast; that not only I may understand according to thy wisdom, how this pestilent and deadly dart is to be borne off, and with what answer it is to be beaten back; but also, when I must join to fight in the field for the glory of thy name, that then I, being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the confession of thy faith and of thy truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he which by words and gentleness cannot be made yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strait correction of the laws. That is to say, he that will not be subject to God's word, must be punished by the laws. It is true that is commonly said, "He that will not obey the gospel must be tamed and taught by the rigour of the law." But these things ought to take place against him which refuseth to do that is right and just, according to true godliness, not against him which cannot quietly bear superstitions and the overthrow of Christ's institutions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the name of God. To that which ye say, a transgressor of the common laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the laws, what manner of laws they be which are broken. For a faithful christian ought not to think alike of all manner of laws; but that saying ought only truly to be understanded of such laws as be not contrary to God's word. Otherwise, whosoever love their country in truth, that is to say, in God, they will

always judge, (if at any time the laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other,) that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to their country, forasmuch as they make their country to fight, as it were, against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of the country, surely I do think, that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their country. For they that fight against God, which is the safety of their country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so, are worthily to be judged enemies to their country and betrayers of the realm. Therefore, &c. Acts iv.

But this is the readiest way, ye say, to stir up sedition, to trouble the quiet of the commonwealth; therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles and accustomed subtleties. He hath ever this dart in a readiness to hurl against his adversaries, to accuse them of sedition, that he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the higher powers; for so hath he by his ministers always charged the prophets of God. Ahab said unto Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" The false prophets also complained to their princes of Jeremy, that his words were seditious and not to be suffered. Did not the Scribes and Pharisees falsely accuse Christ as a seditious person, and one that spake against Cæsar? Did they not at last cry, "If you let this man go, you are not Cæsar's friend?" The orator Tertullus, how doth he accuse Paul before Felix, the high-deputy! "We have found this man (saith he) a pestilent fellow, and a stirrer of sedition unto all the Jews in the whole world," &c. Satan and his ministers do always charge the godly with sedition. 1 Kings xviii. Jer. xxvi. Luke xxiii. John xix. Acts xxiv.

But I pray you, were these men as they were called, seditious persons, Christ, Paul, and the prophets? God forbid! But they were of false men falsely accused. And wherefore, I pray you, but because they reproved before the people their guiles, superstition and deceits? And when the other could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as seditious persons and troublers of the commonwealth, that being by this means made hateful to the people and princes, they might the more

easily be snatched up, to be tormented and put to death. But how far they were from all sedition, their whole doctrine, life, and conversation, doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his prince, which professeth openly that he will not observe the laws which the prince hath made, here I would wish that I might have an indifferent judge, and one that feareth God, to whose judgment in this cause I promise I will stand. I answer therefore, a man ought to obey his prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his prince against God, doth not a duty to the prince, but is a deceiver of the prince, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not the prince that is the prince's, and to God that is God's. Here cometh to my remembrance that notable saying of Valentinianus, the emperor, for choosing the bishop of Milan. "Set him," saith he, "in the bishop's seat, to whom, if we, as man, do offend at any time, we may submit ourselves[1]." Polycarpus, the most constant martyr, when he stood before the chief ruler, and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of Cæsar, &c. he answered with a mild spirit, "We are taught," saith he, "to give honour unto princes and those powers which be of God, but such honour as is not contrary to God's religion[2]."

Theod. Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 5.

Euseb. Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15.

Hitherunto ye see, good father, how I have in words only made, as it were, a flourish before the fight which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversaries of Christ, and to muse with myself how the darts of the old enemy may be borne off, and after what sort I may smite him again with the sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be in use with armour, and to assay how I can go armed.

Eph. vi.

[1 Τοιοῦτον δὴ οὖν καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἀρχιερατικοῖς ἐγκαθιδρύσατε θώκοις, ὅπως καὶ ἡμεῖς, οἱ τὴν βασιλείαν ἰθύνοντες, εἰλικρινῶς αὐτῷ τὰς ἡμετέρας ὑποκλίνωμεν κεφαλὰς, καὶ τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνου γενομένους ἐλέγχους (ἀνθρώπους γὰρ ὄντας καὶ προσπταίειν ἀνάγκη) ὡς ἰατρικὴν ἀσπασώμεθα θεραπείαν. Theod. Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 6. Ed. Paris. 1673, p. 157. Ed.]

[2 Euseb. Ecc. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15. Ed. Par. Valesio, 1659, p. 132. Ed.]

In Tynedale, where I was born, not far from the Scottish borders, I have known my countrymen watch night and day in their harness, such as they had, that is, in their jacks, and their spears in their hands, (you call them northern gads), especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the Scots. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their country. And those that so died, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and progeny all the country loved them the better for their fathers' sakes.

And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own divine ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality, yea, in the quarrel of faith and christian religion, wherein resteth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed, ever looking when our adversary (which, like a roaring lion, seeketh whom he may devour,) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? Yea, and woe be unto us, if he can oppress us at unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore; for if the good man of the house knew what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and not suffer his house to be broken up. Let us awake therefore, I say, and let us not suffer our house to be broken up. "Resist the devil," says St James, "and he will fly from you." Let us therefore resist him manfully, and, taking the cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our captain Christ, who by his own blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way, which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whither he calleth and allureth us, that after these afflictions, which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our faith, as gold by the fire, we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever. Amen. Amen.

1 Pet. v.

Matt. xxiv.

James iv.

1 Tim. vi.

Good father, forasmuch as I have determined with myself to pour forth these my cogitations into your bosom,

here, methinketh, I see you suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your prophetical countenance, and speaking unto me with these or like words: "Trust not, my son, (I beseech you, vouchsafe me the honour of this name, for in so doing I shall think myself both honoured and loved of you,) trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, for the kingdom
1 Cor. iv. of God is not in words, but in power. And remember
Matt. x. always the words of the Lord, 'Do not imagine aforehand, what and how you will speak, for it shall be given you even in that same hour, what ye shall speak; for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you.'"

I pray you therefore, father, pray for me, that I may cast my whole care upon him, and trust upon him in all perils. For I know and am surely persuaded, that whatsoever I can imagine or think aforehand, it is nothing ex-
Eph. vi. cept he assist me with his Spirit, when the time is. I beseech you therefore, father, pray for me, that such a complete harness of the Spirit, such boldness of mind, may be given
Ps. xliv. unto me, that I may out of a true faith say with David, "I will not trust in my bow, and it is not my sword that shall
Ps. cxlvii. save me. For he hath no pleasure in the strength of a horse, &c. But the Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy." I beseech you, pray, pray that I may enter this fight only in the name of God, and that when all is past, I, being not overcome, through his gracious aid, may remain and stand fast in him till that day of the Lord, in the which to them that obtain the victory
Rev. ii. shall be given the lively manna to eat, and a triumphant crown for evermore.

Now, father, I pray you, help me to buckle on this
Rev. ii. gear a little better; for ye know the deepness of Satan, being an old soldier, and you have collared with him ere now, blessed be God that hath ever aided you so well! I suppose he may well hold you at the bay. But truly, he will not be so willing, I think, to join with you, as with us younglings.

Sir, I beseech you, let your servant read this my babbling unto you; and now and then, as it shall seem unto you best,

let your pen run on my book. Spare not to blot my paper: I give you good leave.

As touching this Antonian, whom I have here made mine adversary, lest peradventure any imagination might carry you amiss, and make you think otherwise than I meant, know you that I have alluded to one Antony, a most cruel bishop of the Arians, and a very violent persecutor of them that were catholic and of a right judgment. To whom Hunericus, a tyrant of the Vandals, knowing Antony's fierceness, committed his whole authority, that he should either turn the christians which believed well unto his false religion, or else to punish and torment them at his pleasure. Which thing Antonius took in hand to do, and executed the same against a great number, but specially against two most godly bishops, and most constant in the doctrine which was according to godliness. The name of the one was Eugenius, an aged man; the other was named Habet-Deum. This latter, as it appears by Victor's history of the persecutions of the Vandals, both the tyrant and the false counterfeit bishop desired much to have turned unto their most pestilent heresy. This Habet-Deum was bishop of the city of Tamullume, where Antony had been bishop before. And when Antony had vexed him (as the story saith) with diverse and sundry persecutions, and had found the soldier of Christ always constant in his confession, it is said, that at length in a great rage he swore and said to his friends on this wise: "If I make him not of our religion, then am I not Antony." It is incredible what harms and troubles he put him to; what cruelty he practised against him; and it were too long now to describe the same unto you. But the man of God stood always unmoveable; and in the confession of Christ's faith remained ever unto the end the constant and unfoiled soldier of Christ[1]. This good bishop, Habet-Deum, I pray to God our heavenly Father to give me grace, that I may faithfully follow, through our Lord Jesus Christ. Amen.

Victor de Persecut. Afric. lib. iii.

Sir, I have caused my man not only to read your armour unto me, but also to write it out. For it is not only no bare armour, but also well buckled armour. I see not how it could be better. I thank you even from the bottom of

H. Lat.

[1] Vict. de Pers. Afric. lib. III. Ed. Bas. 1539. p. 663. Ed.]

my heart for it; and my prayer shall you not lack, trusting that you do the like for me. For indeed there is the help, &c. Many things make confusion in memory. And if I were as well learned as was St Paul, I would not bestow much against them, further than to gall them, and spurgall too, when and where as occasion were given, and matter came to mind: for the law shall be their sheet-anchor, stay, and refuge. Fare you well in Christ.

A CONCLUSION TO THE READER.

In this conference and talk between these two great learned men and holy martyrs of Christ, thou perceivest, good reader, the causes wherefore they, with the loss of lands, goods, friends, and all the world's wealth, chose rather most terrible merciless death, than by the denial of the truth to live with an evil conscience, in an open untruth, for a time, in this sinful slippery world. Thine indifference understandeth that they endured that long imprisoning, that straight keeping, that ungentle entreaty and cruel handling, not upon an obstinate heart nor froward disposition (being otherwise men most gentle and tractable), much less upon any most desperate temerity: but considering the urgent weight of the cause for the which they suffered, necessarily to require a plain confession, after they had examined, debated, and throughly tried out the matter to the utmost; forasmuch as it was given unto them of God, not only that they should believe in Christ, but also suffer for him; and seeing they were segregated and especially chosen to defend the gospel, they, contemning the tender trembling of the cowardly flesh, and setting all fleshly policies apart, buckled on them the armour of God, that they might stand manfully against the assaults of the devil, and with the target of a firm faith extinguish the fiery darts of the wicked; and so have joyously finished their course, testifying with their blood God's eternal truth unto the world: testifying (I say) the mighty power, the sufficiency and sincerity of God's written word, and the comfort exhibited by the same to all faithful in the true use and participation of Christ's holy Sacraments, ministered according to his own institution; testifying what the

true Catholic Church of Christ is indeed, and by what marks it is certainly known: testifying as well what troubles and perils of the world the same Church is subject unto; as also what weight of eternal glory the momentary trifling afflictions bring to such as continue in that true afflicted Catholic Church, beholding not joys seen, but joys that are not seen: testifying that like as Christ, (being the head of his mystical body, the Catholic Church,) giveth life and salvation unto all the members of the same; even so, whosoever is out of that Church cannot be partaker of salvation and life: testifying what damnation hangeth over them that profane or corrupt the holy ordinance of God in the Sacraments and ministry of the Church, as the papists in their mass and other superstitious counterfeit God-service do: testifying what causes moved these two blessed martyrs with many more besides (and ought to move all that intend to be partakers of life and salvation with Christ in his kingdom) to abhor and abstain from the popish mass, now set up by Satan and Antichrist in England again: testifying how far, and in what things, every subject ought and may lawfully obey the higher powers, and wherein disobey: testifying, finally, how dangerous and damnable a matter it is for any Christian to credit and do after the shaven swarm of mass-priests and papists, who, like most notorious thieves and sacrilegers, not only rob the true Catholic Church of Christ of her right name, and arrogantly and falsely clothe themselves withal (by colour and pretence whereof they rob the people of their goods, to make themselves rich, and like ravening wolves exercise all merciless murder and tyranny against the saints and flock of Christ, that withstand their blasphemy, as these two martyrs most learnedly and constantly did), but also rob God the Father of his honour, God the Son of his humanity, merit, and priesthood, and God the Holy Ghost of his eternal divine doctrine.

Thus have these two blessed martyrs testified unto the world (for God's elect's sake) the certainty of his unfailing truth, and danger of his blasphemous enemies, the papists' falsehood.

Judge now, gentle reader, whether it is better for thee to abide patiently thy most merciful loving heavenly Father's rod under Christ's cross, in confessing the truth with these holy martyrs, to thy eternal salvation; or to slide back into the filthy soil of papistry, and so in partaking the papists' pleasures and ease of the tottering world for a very short time, to be partakers also of their just deserved plagues in the torments of hell, among those hypocrites, to thy greater damnation.

The Lord God give thee his light, to embrace and obey
the persecuted truth, and to judge rightly
now in this trying time of the cross, that
thou be not damned with the wicked
world for being ashamed to bear
thy cross after thy crucified
Christ. Amen[1].

[1] This conclusion to the reader is signed in the second edition, where for the first time it occurs, J. O. Ed.]

A CONFERENCE

BETWEEN

NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF LONDON,

AND

SECRETARY BOURN,

WITH OTHERS,

AT THE

LIEUTENANT'S TABLE IN THE TOWER.

A CONFERENCE, &c.

It was declared a little before, how Doctor Ridley was had from Fremingham to the Tower; where, being in durance, and invited to the Lieutenant's table, he had certain talk or conference with Secretary Bourn, Mr Fecknam, and other, concerning the controversies in religion: the sum whereof, as it was penned with his own hand, hereafter ensueth.—Fox.

Sir Thomas Abridges.

Master Thomas of Bridges said at his brother Master Lieutenant's board, "I pray you, Master Doctors, for my learning, tell me what an heretic is?" Mr Secretary Bourn said, "I will tell you who is an heretic: whoso stubbornly and stiffly maintaineth an untruth, he is an heretic." "Ye mean, Sir," said I, "an untruth in matters of religion and concerning our faith." "Yea, that is true," said he: and in this we were soon agreed. Then said Master Fecknam, sitting at the upper end of the table, whom they called Mr Dean of Paul's, "I will tell you by St Augustine who is an heretic: *Qui adulandi principibus vel lucri gratia falsas opiniones gignit vel sequitur, hæreticus est*, saith St Augustine[1]." And then he Englished the same. "Sir," said I, "I ween St Augustine addeth the third member, which is *vel vanæ gloriæ causa*." "Ye say even true, Mr Doctor," said he; and thus far we did agree all three[2].

Who is an heretic.

An heretic defined by Saint Augustine.

Fecknam provoking Master Ridley.

Mr Fecknam began again to say, "Whoso doth not believe that the Scripture affirmeth, but will obstinately maintain

[1 He who for the sake of flattering princes, or of gain, invents or follows false opinions is an heretic. Ed.]

[2 Or for the cause of vain glory. Vide S. Aug. de utilitate credendi, cap. 1, Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. viii. col. 45. The words are: Hæreticus est, ut mea fert opinio, qui alicujus temporalis commodi, et maxime gloriæ principatûsque sui gratiâ, falsas ac novas opiniones vel fingit vel sequitur. Ed.]

the contrary, he is *hæreticus*. As in the sacrament of the altar. Matthew doth affirm there to be Christ's body, Mark doth affirm it, Luke affirmeth it, Paul affirmeth it, and none denieth it: therefore to hold the contrary is heresy. It is the same body and flesh that was born of the virgin: and this is confirmed by unity, antiquity, and universality. For none before Berengarius did ever doubt of this; and he was an heretic, as Mr Doctor there knoweth full well: I do testify[1] his own conscience," said he.

Unity, antiquity, universality.

"Marry, Sir," said Master Secretary, "Master Fecknam hath spoken well. These be great matters: unity, antiquity, and universality. Do ye not think so, Master Doctor?" said he to me.

Here while I strained courtesy, and pretended as nothing to talk, said one of the commissioners: "Peradventure Master Ridley doth agree with Mr Fecknam, and then there needs not much debating of the matter."

"Sir," said I, "in some things I do and shall agree with him; and in some things which he hath spoken, to be plain, I do not agree with him at all.—Masters," said I, "ye be (as I understand) the Queen's commissioners here, and if ye have commission to examine me in these matters, I shall declare unto you plainly my faith; if ye have not, then I shall pray you either give me leave to speak my mind freely, or else to hold my peace."

"There is none here," said Mr Secretary, "that doth not favour you."—And then every man shewed what favour they bare towards me, and how glad they would be of an agreement.

But as I strained to have licence of them in plain words to speak my mind, so methought they granted me it, but *vix* or *ægré*. Well, at the last I was contented to take it for licensed, and so began to talk.

Bishop Ridley answering to Fecknam.

To Mr Fecknam's arguments of the manifold affirmation where no denial was, I answered, Where is a multitude of affirmations in Scripture, and where is one affirmation, all is one concerning the truth of the matter: for that any of the Evangelists spake inspired by the Holy Ghost, was as true as that which was spoken of them all. It is as true that

Truth in Scripture goeth not by number of affirmation, where one is sufficient.

[1] Testify, i.e. take to witness. Ed.]

John saith of Christ, *Ego sum ostium ovium*, I am the door of the sheep, as if all had said it. For it is not in Scripture as in witness of men, where the number is credited more than one, because it is uncertain of whose spirit he doth speak. And where Mr Fecknam spake of so many, affirming without any negation, &c., "Sir," said I, "all they do affirm the thing which they meant. Now, if ye take their words, and leave their meaning, then do they affirm what ye take, but not what they meant. Sir," said I, "if in talk with you I should so utter my mind in words, that ye by the same do and may plainly perceive my meaning, and could, if ye would be captious, cavil at my words, and writhe them to another sense, I would think ye were no gentle companion to talk with; except ye would take my words as ye did perceive that I did mean."

John x.

Words in Scripture must be taken with their meaning.

"Marry," quoth Mr Secretary, "we should else do you plain injury and wrong."

Mr Fecknam perceiving whereunto my talk went, "Why," quoth he, "what circumstances can ye shew me that should move you to think of any other sense, than as the words plainly say, *Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur?* This is my body which shall be betrayed for you."

Luke xxii. *Hoc est corpus meum* expounded.

"Sir," said I, "even the next sentence that followeth; *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem*, Do this in my remembrance. And also by what reason ye say the bread is turned into Christ's carnal body; by the same I may say, that it is turned into his mystical body. For as that saith of it, *Hoc est corpus meum quod pro vobis tradetur;* so Paul which spake by Christ's spirit saith, *Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamus.* We being many are all but one bread, and one body, in as much as we are partakers of one bread."

Reasons why these words ought to be taken not literally.

1 Cor. x.

"Here he calleth one bread, one loaf," said Mr Secretary.

"Yea," said I, "one loaf, one bread, all is one with me."

"But what say ye," quoth Master Secretary, "of the universality, antiquity, and unity, that Master Fecknam did speak of?"

"I ensure you," said I, "I think them matters weighty, and to be considered well. As for unity, the truth is, before

Unity with verity to be allowed.

God, I do believe it and embrace it, so it be with verity, and joined to our head Christ, and such one as Paul speaketh of, saying, *Una fides, unus Deus, unum baptisma*, One faith, one God, one baptism. And for antiquity, I am also persuaded to be true that Irenæus saith, *Quod primum verum*[1], That is first is true. In our religion Christ's faith was first truly taught by Christ himself, by his Apostles, and by many good men that from the beginning did succeed next unto them: and for this controversy of the sacrament, I am persuaded that those old writers, which wrote before the controversy and the usurping of the see of Rome, do all agree, if they be well understood, in this truth."

Eph. iv.

Antiquity.

"I am glad to hear," said Master Secretary, "that ye do so well esteem the doctors of the church."

Universality hath a double understanding.

"Now as for universality, it may have two meanings: one, to understand that to be universal which from the beginning in all ages hath been allowed; another, to understand universality for the multitude of our age, or of any other singular age."

"No, no," saith Master Secretary, "these three do always agree; and where there is one, there is all the rest." And here he and I changed many words. And finally, to be short, in this matter we did not agree.

"There was none," quoth Master Fecknam, "before Berengarius, Wickliffe, and Hus, and now in our days Carolostadius and Œcolampadius. And Carolostadius saith, Christ pointeth to his own body, and not to the sacrament, and said. *Hoc est corpus meum.* And Melancthon writeth to one Micronius, (Miconius, said I,) these are like words: *Nullam satis gravem rationem invenire possum, propter quam á fide majorum in hac materia dissentiam*[2]. I can find no grounded reason to cause me to dissent from the belief of our forefelders."

Melancthon ad Miconium.

The doctrine of the Sacrament not new.

Thus when he had spoken at length with many other words more, "Sir," said I, "it is certain that other before these have written of this matter; not by the way only, and

[1 See notes to the Conferences with Latimer. The words referred to are those of Tertullian, not of Irenæus. Ed.]

[2 Mel. Ep. ad Mycon. apud Œcolampadium, de Euchar. Ed. 1530, p. 58. Ed.]

obiter, as do for the most of all the old writers, but even *ex professo*, and their whole books entreat of it alone, as Bertram."

"Bertram," said the Secretary, "what man was he? and who was he[3], and how do ye know?" &c. with many questions.

"Sir," quoth I, "I have read his book. He propoundeth the same which is now in controversy, and answereth so directly that no man may doubt but that he affirmeth, that the substance of bread remaineth still in the sacrament; and he wrote unto Carolus Magnus."

"Marry," quoth he, "mark, for there is a matter. He wrote," quoth he, "*ad Henricum*[4], and not *ad Carolum*, for no author maketh any such mention of Bertramus."

"Yes," quoth I, "*Trithemius in catalogo illustrium Scriptorum* speaketh of him. Trithemius was but of late time: but he speaketh," quoth I, "of them that were of antiquity." Here after much talk of Bertram; "What authors have ye," quoth Mr Secretary, "to make of the Sacrament a figure?"

[3 "Who was he?" etc. The celebrated work of Bertramus, or Ratramnus, *de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, is here alluded to. An English translation by William Hugh had shortly before this time, viz. in 1548, been printed, under the title of "A book of Bertram the Priest." It is supposed that Ridley met with it in the year 1545 or 1546. Dr Gloucester Ridley says: "Few books have drawn after them such salutary consequences as this has done. This first opened Ridley's eyes, and determined him more accurately to search the Scriptures in this article, and the doctrine of the primitive fathers, who lived before the time of this controversy betwixt Bertram and Paschasius." Ed.]

[4 "*Ad Henricum.*" "That is," says Dr Wordsworth, "to Henry the Eighth: meaning to insinuate that this book of Bertram's, which bore too strongly against the Romish corruptions in the doctrine of the Eucharist, to admit easily of any fair and direct answer, was a modern forgery of the Protestants of late time." The work of John of Trithemius was finished A.D. 1494, and first published at Basil. Ridley was under a mistake as to the precise date of the work in question; it was addressed not to Charlemagne, but to Charles the Bald: it was besides not the "Catalogus illustrium virorum," but the "Catalogus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum," to which he refers; that work states of Bertram, "ad Carolum regem, fratrem Lotharii imperatoris, scripsit commendabile opus." Ed.]

Doctors that make the Sacrament but a figure. *Tertullianus, Gelasius, Origen.*

"Sir," quoth I, "ye know (I think) that Tertullian in plain words speaketh thus: *Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei;* This is my body, that is to say, a figure of my body. And Gelasius saith plainly, that *substantia panis manet;* the substance of bread remaineth. And Origen saith likewise; *Quod sanctificatur secundum materiam, ingreditur stomachum et vadit in secessem;* That which is sanctified, as touching the matter or substance, passeth away in the draught[1]." This when I had Englished, Mr Secretary said to me, "You know very well as any man," &c.; and here, if I would, I might have been set in a foolish Paradise of his commendation of my learning, and *quod essem vir multæ lectionis*, a man of much reading. But this I would not take at his hand. He set me not up so high, but I brought myself as low again: and here was much ado.

"As for Melancthon," quoth I, "whom Mr Fecknam spake of, I marvel that ye will allege him; for we are more nigh an agreement here in England, than the opinion of Melancthon to you: for in this point we all agree here, that there is in the sacrament but one material substance; and Melancthon, as I ween, saith there are two."

"Ye say truth," quoth Mr Secretary: "Melancthon's opinion is so. But I pray you, ye have read that the sacrament was in old time so reverenced, that many were then forbidden to be present at the ministration thereof, *catechumeni*," quoth he, "and many more."

Catechumeni and others went out at the ministration.

"Truth, Sir," quoth I, "there were some called *audientes*, some *pœnitentes*, some *catechumeni*, and some *energumeni*, which were commanded to depart."

The book of catechism.

"Now," quoth he, "and how can ye then make but a figure or a sign of the sacrament, as that book which is set forth in my Lord of Canterbury's name[2]? I wis, ye can tell

[1] Tertul. cont. Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 40. Gelasius de duab. nat. in Christo. Bibl. Pat. Paris, 1575, vol. v. p. 475. Orig. in Matth. Op. Ed. Par. 1745, Hom. xi. vol. iii. p. 499. For these references to the Fathers see The Brief Declaration. Ed.]

[2] "Lord of Canterbury's name." Fox, in the margin, calls this 'the book of Catechism,' by which he probably meant either the Catechism commonly called the Catechism of King Edward, or the "Short Instruction unto Christian Religion:" or possibly that of Justus Jonas, translated under Cranmer's authority, and often referred to as his.

who made it: did not ye make it?" And here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of that book; which yet was said of some there, to contain most heinous heresy that ever was.

"Master Secretary," quoth I, "that book was made of a great learned man, and him which is able to do the like again: as for me, I ensure you (be not deceived in me) I was never able to do or write any such like thing. He passeth me no less, than the learned master his young scholar."

Now, here every man would have his saying, which I pass over as not much material for to tell. "But, Sir," quoth I, "methinks it is not charitably done, to bear the people in hand that any man doth so lightly esteem the sacrament, as to make of it but a figure. For that maketh it (but) a bare figure without any more profit; which that book doth often deny, as appeareth to the reader most plainly."

"Yes," quoth he, "that they do."

"Sir, no," quoth I, "of a truth: and as for me, I ensure you I make no less of the sacrament than thus: I say, whosoever receiveth the sacrament, he receiveth therewith life or death."

"No," quoth Mr Secretary, "Scripture saith not so."

"Sir," quoth I, "although not in the same sound of words, yet it doth in the same sense; and St Augustine saith in the sound of words also: for Paul saith, The bread which we break, is it not the partaking or fellowship of the body of Christ? and St Augustine, *Manduca vitam, bibe vitam*, Eat life, drink life[3]." 1 Cor. x. 16.

Then said Master Pope, "What can ye make of it when ye say, there is not the real body of Christ? which I do believe, and I pray God I may never believe other. How The Sacrament may bring life without transubstantiation.

It is known by the title "Catechism of 1543." But it is more likely that Ridley referred to the Book on the Sacrament, which Cranmer afterwards defended against Gardiner, and that Fox was wrong in mentioning a catechism at all. Ed.]

[3 S. Aug. Sermo cxxxi. de verb. Evan. Joh. vi. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. v. col. 641. Ed.]

can it bring (as ye say) either life or death, when Christ's body is not there?"

"Sir," quoth I, "when you hear God's word truly preached, if ye do believe it and abide in it, ye shall and do receive life withal: and if ye do not believe it, it doth bring unto you death: and yet Christ's body is still in heaven, and not carnal in every preacher's mouth."

"I pray you tell me," quoth he, "how can you answer to this, *Quod pro vobis tradetur*, Which shall be given for you? Was the figure of Christ's body given for us?"

"No, Sir," quoth I, "but the very body itself, whereof the sacrament is a sacramental figure."

"How say ye then," quoth he, "to *quod pro vobis tradetur*, Which shall be given for you?"

Tertullianus. "Forsooth," quoth I, "Tertullian's exposition maketh it plain, for he saith, *Corpus est figura corporis*, The body is a figure of the body. Now put to *quod pro vobis tradetur*, Which shall be given for you; and it agreeth exceedingly well."

"In faith," quoth he, "I would give forty pounds that ye were of a good opinion. For I ensure you, I have heard you, and had an affection to you."

"I thank you, Master Pope, for your heart and mind: and ye know," quoth I, "I were a very fool if I would in this matter dissent from you, if that in my conscience the truth did not enforce me so to do. For I wis (as ye do perceive, I trow) it is somewhat out of my way, if I would esteem worldly gain."

Cyprian. "What say ye," quoth he, "to Cyprian? Doth he not say plainly, *Panis quem dedit Dominus, non effigie, sed natura mutatus, omnipotentia verbi factus est caro*[1]: The bread which the Lord did deliver, being changed not according to the form, but according to the nature thereof, by the omnipotent word is made flesh."

Dr Ridley falsely reported of, for a sermon of his at Paul's. "True, Sir, so he doth say, and I answer even the same which once by chance I preached at Paul's Cross in a sermon, for the which I have been as unjustly and as untruly reported,

[1 Cyp. de Cœna Domini. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726, col. 111. This treatise is placed by the Benedictine Editor at the end of the volume among those falsely attributed to Cyprian. Ed.]

as any poor man hath been. For there I, speaking of the sacrament, and inveighing against them that esteemed it no better than a piece of bread, told even the same thing of *pœnitentes*, *audientes*, *catechumeni*, *energumeni*, that I spake of before; and I bade them depart as unworthy to hear the mystery; and then I said to those that be *sancti*, Cyprian the Martyr shall tell you how it is that Christ calleth it, saying, *Panis est corpus*, *cibus*, *potus*, *caro*[2], &c., Bread is the body, meat, drink, flesh, because that unto this material substance is given the property of the thing whereof it beareth the name: and this place then took I to utter as the time would then suffer, that the material substance of bread doth remain." Mr Fecknam (which, as is reported to me, did belie me openly in the same matter at Paul's Cross,) heard all this my talk, as red as scarlet in his face, and herein answered me never one word.

The place of St Cyprian expounded.

"You do know well," quoth Mr Secretary, "that Origen and Tertullian were not catholic, but erred."

"Sir," quoth I, "there is none of all the doctors that are holden in all points, but are thought to have erred in some things. But yet I never heard that it was either laid to Origen's charge, or to Tertullian, that ever they were thought to have erred in this matter of the sacrament."

None of all the doctors holden in all points.

"What," quoth Mr Chomley, late chief justice, "doth not Christ say plainly, that it is his very flesh and his very blood, and we must needs eat him, or we can have no life?" "Sir," quoth I, "if you will hear how St Augustine expoundeth that place, you shall perceive that you are in a wrong box." And when I began to tell St Augustine's mind in his book *De Doctrina Christiana*[3], "Yea, yea," quoth Mr Secretary, "that is true. St Augustine doth take it figuratively in deed."

St Augustine taketh the words of the sacrament figuratively by Bourn's own confession.

"Forty years ago," quoth Mr Fecknam, "all were of one opinion in this matter."

"Forty years ago," quoth I, "all held that the Bishop of Rome was supreme head of the universal church."

[2 Cyp. Ib. The words are, Ipse enim et panis, et caro, et sanguis; idem cibus et substantia et vita factus est Ecclesiæ suæ, quam corpus suum appellat, dans ei participationem spiritus. Ed.]

[3 Lib. III. Sect. 24. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iii. col. 52. See notes to The Brief Declaration. Ed.]

"What then?" was Master Feeknam beginning to say, &c. but Mr Secretary took the tale, and said, that was but a positive law.

Dist. 21. *Quamvis.*

"A positive law?" quoth I, "no, Sir, he would not have it so: for it is in his decrees, that he challenged it by Christ's own word. For his decree saith: *Nullis Synodicis constitutis, neque conciliis, sed vivâ voce Domini prælata est Ecclesia Romana omnibus ecclesiis in toto mundo: dicente Domino Petro, Tu es Petrus*[1], &c. The church of Rome was advanced above all other churches in the world, not by any synodical constitutions, nor yet any councils, but by the lively voice of the Lord, according as the Lord said to Peter, Thou art Peter, &c. And in another place he entreateth, *Tu es Cephas, id est caput*, Thou art Cephas, that is to say the head."

Matt. xvi.

John i.

"Tush, it was not counted an article," quoth Mr Secretary, "of our faith."

"Yes," said I, "if ye call that an article of our faith, which is to be believed under pain of damnation. For he saith: *Omnino definimus, declaramus, pronunciamus, omnem humanam creaturam subesse Romano pontifici de necessitate salutis*[2]: We do absolutely determine, declare, and pronounce, that every creature is subject to the obedience of the Bishop of Rome upon necessity of salvation."

And here when we spake of laws and decrees, Mr Roger Chomley thought himself much wronged, that he could not be suffered to speak, the rest were so ready to interrupt him: and then he up and told a long tale what laws were of Kings of England made against the Bishop of Rome, and was vehement to tell how they alway of the clergy did fly to him. And here, because he seemed to speak of many

[1 The words of the decree are "Sancta tamen Romana Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia nullis Synodicis constitutis cæteris ecclesiis prælata est, sed evangelica voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit, 'Tu es Petrus' inquiens, &c." Dist. 21. cap. 3. Decreta Gratiani, Paris, 1585, cols. 115, 116. Ed.]

[2 Extravag. Comm. lib. 1. tit. de majoritate et obedientiâ—the words are, "Porro subesse Romano pontifici omnem humanam creaturam declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus, omnino esse de necessitate salutis." Ed. Lugd. 1509, fol. 8. See also the conclusion of the Bull of Boniface VIII. "Unam Sanctam." Ed.]

things beside our purpose, whereof we spake before, he was answered of his own fellows, and I let them talk.

Finally, we departed in peace, and Master Secretary promised in the end, that of their talk there should come to me no harm. And after I had made my moan for lack of my books, he said they were all once given him: but sith I know (said he) who hath them now, write me the names of such as ye would have, and I will speak for you the best I can.

Dr Ridley's books given away.

JUDICIA DUO.

I. A DETERMINATION

CONCERNING

THE SACRAMENT,

MADE

AT CAMBRIDGE

AFTER

THREE DISPUTATIONS HELD THERE, JUNE 20, 1549.

II. JUDICIUM NICHOLAI RIDLÆI, EPISCOPI LONDINENSIS, DE EPISTOLIS DECRETALIBUS, SCILICET CLEMENTIS ANACLETI, LUCII, PONTIANI ET ALIORUM VESTUSTISSIMORUM PONTIFICUM.

The disputations held at Cambridge before the King's commissioners, June, 1549, and which are preserved by Fox in his Acts and Monuments, were remarkable, as well for the importance of the subject discussed, as for the learning and character of those who took part in them. The commissioners were the Bishops of Rochester and Ely, Mr (afterwards Sir John) Cheke, formerly Tutor to the King, Dr May, and Thomas Wendy, Physician to the King. In the first disputation, Dr Madew was opposed by Dr Glin, Sedgwick, Langdale, and Young. The second disputation was carried on between Dr Glin on the Romish side, and Grindall, Perne, Gest, and Pilkington on the other. In the third Perne contended against Parker, Pollard, Vavisor or Vavasour, and Young.

After three days' disputations, Dr Ridley who had occasionally assisted the disputants against transubstantiation delivered the determination or judgment subjoined.

THE DETERMINATION

OF

DOCTOR NICHOLAS RIDLEY,

BISHOP OF ROCHESTER,

UPON THE DISPUTATIONS, &c.

The determination of Dr Nic. Ridley upon the disputations.

THERE hath been an ancient custom amongst you, that after disputations had in your common schools, there should be some determination made of the matters so disputed and debated, especially touching Christian religion. Because therefore it hath seemed good unto these worshipful assistants joined with me in commission from the King's majesty, that I should perform the same at this time; I will by your favourable patience declare, both what I do think and believe myself, and what also others ought to think of the same. Which thing I would that afterward ye did with diligence weigh and ponder, every man at home severally by himself.

The principal grounds, or rather head springs of this matter are specially five.

Five principal grounds to take away transubstantiation.

The first is the authority, majesty, and verity of holy Scripture.

The second is the most certain testimonies of the ancient catholic Fathers, who, after my judgment, do sufficiently declare this matter.

The third is the definition of a Sacrament.

The fourth is the abominable heresy of Eutyches, that may ensue of transubstantiation.

The fifth is the most sure belief of the article of our faith, He ascended into heaven.

The First Ground.

Transubstantiation against the Scripture.

This transubstantiation is clean against the words of the scripture, and consent of the ancient catholic fathers. The

scripture saith: "I will not drink hereafter of this fruit of the vine, &c." Now the fruit of this vine is wine. And it is manifest that Christ spake these words after the supper was finished, as it appeareth both in Matthew, Mark, and also in Luke, if they be well understood. There be not many places of scripture that do confirm this thing, neither is it greatly material; for it is enough if there be any one plain testimony for the same. Neither ought it to be measured by the number of scriptures, but by the authority, and by the verity of the same. And the majesty of this verity is as ample in one short sentence of the scripture, as in a thousand.

Scripture to be measured not by number but by authority.

Moreover, Christ took bread, he brake bread, he gave bread. In the Acts Luke calleth it bread. So Paul calleth it bread after the sanctification. Both of them speak of breaking, which belongeth to the substance of bread, and in no wise to Christ's body, for the scripture saith: "Ye shall not break a bone of him." Christ saith: "Do ye this in my remembrance." Saint Paul also saith: "Do ye this in my remembrance." And again: "As often as ye shall drink of this cup, do it in remembrance of me." And our Saviour Christ, in the 6th of John, speaking against the Capernaites, saith: "Labour for the meat that perisheth not." And when they asked, "What shall we do that we may work the works of God?" he answered them thus: "This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent." You see how he exhorteth them to faith, for faith is that work of God. Again, "This is the bread which came down from heaven." But Christ's body came not down from heaven. Moreover: "He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him. My flesh (saith he) is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." When they heard this, they were offended. And whilst they were offended, he said unto them: "What if ye shall see the son of man ascend up where he was before?" Whereby he went about to draw them from the gross and carnal eating. This body, saith he, shall ascend up into heaven, meaning altogether, as St Augustine saith: "It is the spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, are spirit and life, and must be spiritually understood." These be the reasons which persuade me to incline to this sentence and judgment.

Exod. xii.

1 Cor. xi.

John vi.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

The Second Ground.

Now my second ground against this transubstantiation are the ancient fathers a thousand years past. And so far off is it that they do confirm this opinion of transubstantiation, that plainly they seem unto me both to think and to teach the contrary.

The second ground against transubstantiation, viz. by the Fathers.

Dionysius[1] in many places calleth it bread. The places are so manifest and plain, that it needeth not to recite them.

Dionys. in Eccle. Hierar.

Ignatius to the Philadelphians saith: "I beseech you, brethren, cleave fast unto one faith, and to one kind of preaching, using together one manner of thanksgiving: for the flesh of the Lord Jesus is one, and his blood is one which was shed for us. There is also one bread broken for us, and one cup of the whole church[2]."

Ignatius ad Philadelph.

Irenæus writeth thus: "Even as the bread that cometh of the earth receiving God's vocation is now no more common bread, but sacramental bread, consisting of two natures, earthly and heavenly; even so our bodies, receiving the Eucharist, are now no more corruptible, having hope of the resurrection[3]."

Irenæus, lib. iv. cap. 34.

Tertullian is very plain, for he calleth it a figure of the body, &c.[4]

Tertullianus.

[1] Dionysius, Pseudo-Areopagita, wrote about A.D. 365, Cave. Ed.]

[2] Παρακαλῶν ὑμᾶς μιᾷ πίστει καὶ ἑνὶ κηρύγματι καὶ μιᾷ εὐχαριστίᾳ χρῆσθαι. μία γάρ ἐστιν ἡ σὰρξ τοῦ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἓν αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐκχυθέν· εἷς καὶ ἄρτος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐθρύφθη, καὶ ἓν ποτήριον τοῖς ὅλοις διενεμήθη, ἓν θυσιαστήριον πάσῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. S. Ignat. Ep. ad Philad. Op. Ed. Lond. Voss. 1680, p. 176. Ed.]

[3] Ὡς γὰρ ἀπὸ γῆς ἄρτος, προσλαμβανόμενος τὴν ἔκκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκέτι κοινὸς ἄρτος ἐστὶν, ἀλλ' εὐχαριστία ἐκ δύο πραγμάτων συνεστηκυῖα, ἐπιγείου τε καὶ οὐρανίου, οὕτως καὶ τὰ σώματα ἡμῶν, μεταλαμβάνοντα τῆς εὐχαριστίας, μηκέτι εἶσιν φθαρτὰ, τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς εἰς αἰῶνας ἀναστάσεως ἔχοντα. S. Iren. cont. Heres. lib. IV. cap. 18. (ant. ord. 34.) Ed. Ben. Par. 1710, p. 251. Ed.]

[4 Sie enim Deus in Evangelio quoque vestro revelavit, panem corpus suum appellans: ut et hinc jam eum intelligas corporis sui figuram pani dedisse. Tert. adv. Marcion. lib. III. Op. Ed. Rigalt. Paris, 1641, p. 493-4. Ed.]

Chrysost. ad Cæsarium.

Chrysostom writing to Cæsarius the monk, albeit he be not received of divers, yet will I read the place to fasten it more deeply in your minds: for it seemeth to shew plainly the substance of bread to remain. The words are these:

"Before the bread is sanctified, we name it bread: but by the grace of God sanctifying the same through the ministry of the priest, it is delivered from the name of bread, and is counted worthy to bear the name of the Lord's body, although the very substance of bread notwithstanding do still remain therein, and now is taken not to be two bodies, one body of the Son, &c.[1]"

Cyprian. lib. i. epist. 6.

Cyprian saith: "Bread is made of many grains. And is that natural bread, and made of wheat? Yea, it is so in deed[2]."

Theodoretus.

The book of Theodoret, in Greek, was lately printed at Rome, which if it had not been his, it should not have been set forth there, especially seeing it is directly against transubstantiation: for he saith plainly, that bread still remaineth after the sanctification[3].

Gelasius in Epist. de duabus naturis in Christo.

Gelasius also is very plain in this manner. "The sacrament (saith he) which we receive of the body and blood of Christ, is a divine matter: by reason whereof we are made partakers by the same of the divine nature, and yet it ceaseth not still to be the substance of bread and wine. And certes, the representation and similitude of the body and blood of Christ be celebrated in the action of the mysteries, &c.[4]"

After this he recited certain places out of Augustine and Cyril, which were not noted.

Hesychius also confesseth that it is bread[5].

[1 3 4] See Treatise on Transubstantiation. Ed.]

Hesych. Comment. in Levit. lib. ii. cap. 8.

[2] Quo et ipso sacramento populus noster ostenditur adunatus, ut quemadmodum grana multa in unum collecta et commolita et commixta panem unum faciunt, sic in Christo qui est panis cœlestis unum sciamus esse corpus, cui conjunctus sit noster numerus et adunatus. S. Cyp. Epist. ad Cæcil. Ordo novus LXIII. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726, p. 108. Ed.]

[5] Quomodo ergo in his non admiranda sit sapientia Spiritûs? nullam quippe dubietatem hujusmodi intellectui dereliquit; propterea carnes cum panibus comedi præcipiens, ut nos intelligeremus, illud ab eo mysterium dici quod simul panis et caro est, sicut corpus Christi, panis vivi qui de cœlo descendit. Hesychius, Comment. in Levit. lib. II. cap. 8. Op. Ed. Basil. 1527, p. 49. c. Ed.]

Also the judgment of Bertram in this matter is very plain and manifest. And thus much for the second ground. Bertram.

The Third Ground.

The third ground is the nature of the sacrament, which consisteth in three things, that is, Unity, Nutrition, and Conversion. The Third ground. Three things in a sacrament. 1. Unity. 2. Nutrition. 3. Conversion.

As touching unity, Cyprian thus writeth: "Even as of many grains is made one bread, so are we one mystical body of Christ." Wherefore bread must needs still remain, or else we destroy the nature of a sacrament. Cyprian.

Also they that take away nutrition, which cometh by bread, do take away likewise the nature of the sacrament. For as the body of Christ nourisheth the soul, even so doth bread likewise nourish the body of man.

Therefore they that take away the grains or the union of the grains in the bread, and deny the nutrition or substance thereof, in my judgment are Sacramentaries: for they take away the similitude between the bread and the body of Christ. For they which affirm transubstantiation are indeed right Sacramentaries and Capernaites.

As touching conversion (that like as the bread which we receive, is turned into our substance, so are we turned into Christ's body), Rabanus[6] and Chrysostom[7] are witnesses sufficient. Conversion. Rabanus. Chrysostom.

The Fourth Ground.

They which say that Christ is carnally present in the Eucharist, do take from him the verity of man's nature. The Fourth ground. The real presence in the sacrament standeth not with the truth of Christ's humanity.

[6 Rabanus Maurus de Sermonis Proprietate. The work itself is lost, and is not noticed by Cave; but Gesner in his "Bibliotheca" mentions two persons who had it in their possession in MS. Flacius Illyricus must have had access to it, for he quotes the very passage to which Ridley most probably refers; the words of Rabanus are, "Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur: sicut ergo illud [sacramentum] in nos convertitur cum id manducamus et bibimus, sic et nos in corpus Christi convertimur cum obedienter et pie vivimus." Flacius Illyricus refers this to the fifth book and second chapter of the above-mentioned work. Rabanus Maurus was Abbot of Fulda, and died A.D. 856. Ed.]

[7 See notes to Disputations, infra. Ed.]

Eutyches granted the divine nature in Christ, but his human nature he denied. So they that defend transubstantiation ascribe that to the human nature, which only belongeth to the divine nature.

The Fifth Ground.

The Fifth ground.

The fifth ground is the certain persuasion of this article of faith, "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand, &c."

August. super Ioan. Tract. 30.

Augustine saith: "The Lord is above, even to the end of the world; but yet the verity of the Lord is here also. For his body wherein he rose again, must needs be in one place, but his verity is spread abroad every where[1]."

Tract. 50.

Also, in another place he saith: "Let the godly receive also that sacrament, but let them not be careful (speaking there of the presence of his body[2].) For as touching his majesty, his providence, his invisible and unspeakable grace,

Matth. xxviii.

these words are fulfilled which he spake, 'I am with you unto the end of the world.' But according to the flesh which he took upon him, according to that which was born of the Virgin, was apprehended of the Jews, was fastened to a tree, taken down again from the cross, lapped in linen clothes, was buried and rose again, and appeared after his resurrection, so you shall not have me always with you. And why? because that as concerning his flesh he was conversant with his disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing him, but not following him, he went up into heaven, and is not here, for he sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and yet he is here, because he is not departed hence, as concerning the presence of his divine majesty[3]."

Mark and consider well what St Augustine saith: "He is ascended into heaven, and is not here," saith he. Believe

[1 Sursum est Dominus: sed etiam hic est veritas Domini. Corpus enim Domini in quo resurrexit, uno loco esse potest: veritas ejus ubique diffusa est. S. Aug. in Johan. Evan. Tract xxx. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iii. col. 517. Ed.]

[2 Accipiunt hoc et boni, sed non sint soliciti: loquebatur enim de præsentia corporis sui. S. Aug. in Johan. Evan. Tract. l. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iii. col. 633-4. Ed.]

[3 See Treatise on Transubstantiation. Ed.]

not them therefore which say, that he is here still in the earth.

Moreover, "Doubt not (saith the same Augustine) but that Jesus Christ, as concerning the nature of his manhood, is there from whence he shall come. And remember well and believe the profession of a Christian man, that he rose from death, ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father, and from that place and none other (not from the altars) shall he come to judge the quick and the dead, and he shall come, as the angel said, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance, unto the which he gave immortality, but changed not nature. After this form (meaning his human nature) we may not think that it is every where[4]." August. Epist. 57.

And in the same epistle he saith: "Take away from the bodies limitation of places, and they shall be no where: and because they are no where, they shall not be at all[5]." August. Ibid.

Vigilius saith: "If the word and the flesh be both of one nature, seeing that the word is every where, why then is not the flesh also every where? For when it was in earth, then verily it was not in heaven: and now when it is in heaven, it is not surely in earth. And it is so certain, that it is not in earth, that as concerning the same we look for him from heaven, whom, as concerning the word, we believe to be with us in earth[6]." Vigilius contra Eutychen. lib. iv.

[4 Noli itaque dubitare ibi nunc esse hominem Christum Jesum, unde venturus est, memoriterque recole et fideliter tene Christianam confessionem, quoniam resurrexit a mortuis, adscendit in cœlum, sedet ad dexteram Patris, nec aliunde quam inde venturus est ad vivos mortuosque judicandos. Et sic venturus est, illa angelica voce testante, quemadmodum ire visus est in cœlum, id est, in eadem carnis forma atque substantia; cui profecto immortalitatem dedit, naturam non abstulit. S. Aug. Ep. ad Dard. (Ordo novus CLXXXVII.) Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ii. col. 681. Ed.]

[5 Nam spatia locorum tolle corporibus, nusquam erunt; et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Ib. col. 683. Ed.]

[6 Deinde si verbi et carnis una natura est, quomodo cum verbum ubique sit, non ubique inveniatur et caro? namque quando in terrâ fuit, non erat utique in cœlo, et nunc quia in cœlo est, non est utique in terrâ; et in tantum non est, ut secundum ipsam Christum spectemus venturum de cœlo, quem secundum verbum nobiscum esse credimus in terrâ. Vigil. cont. Eutych. Tiguri, 1539, p. 73. Ed.]

Also, the same Vigilius saith: "Which things seeing they be so, the course of the scripture must be searched of us, and many testimonies must be gathered, to shew plainly what a wickedness and sacrilege it is to refer those things to the property of the divine nature, which do only belong to the nature of the flesh; and contrariwise, to apply those things unto the nature of the flesh, which do properly belong to the divine nature[1]." Which thing the transubstantiators do, whilst they affirm Christ's body not to be contained in any one place, and ascribe that to his humanity, which properly belongeth to his divinity: as they do which will have Christ's body to be in no one certain place limited.

The Third conclusion.

Now, in the latter conclusion concerning the sacrifice, because it dependeth upon the first, I will in few words declare what I think. For if we did once agree in that, the whole controversy in the other would soon be at an end. Two things there be which do persuade me that this conclusion is true: that is, certain places of the scripture, and also certain testimonies of the fathers.

Heb. ix.

Sacrifice of Christ's body.

St Paul saith, "Christ being become an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is, not of this building, neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, entered once into the holy place, and obtained for us eternal redemption, &c. and now in the end of the world he hath appeared once to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself."

Heb. x.

And again: "Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many." Moreover he saith: "With one offering hath he made perfect for ever those that are sanctified."

Christ never offered but once.

These scriptures do persuade me to believe that there is no other oblation of Christ, (albeit I am not ignorant there are many sacrifices) but that which was once made upon the cross.

August. ad Bonif. Epist. 23.

The testimonies of the ancient fathers which confirm the same, are out of Augustine ad Bonifac. Epist. 23. Again in

[1] Quæ cum ita sint, series nobis divinarum percurrenda est literarum, et plurima testimonia congerenda, quibus demonstretur, quam sit impium et sacrilegum ea, quæ sunt propria carnis Christi, ad naturæ verbi proprietatem referre, et quæ sunt propria verbi, proprietati naturæ carnis adscribere. Id. lib. v. p. 88. Ed.]

his book of Questions, in the 61st Question. Also in his book against Faustus the Manichee, Book xx. Chap. 21. And in the same book against the said Faustus, Chap. 18. thus he writeth: "Now the Christians keep a memorial of the sacrifice past, with a holy oblation and participation of the body and blood of Christ[2]." Fulgentius in his book *De Fide* calleth the same oblation a commemoration. And these things are sufficient for this time for a scholastical determination of these matters[3].

August. Quæst. 61.

August. contra Faustum, lib. xx. cap. 18.

[2] Unde jam Christiani peracti ejusdem sacrificii memoriam celebrant sacrosanctâ oblatione et participatione corporis et sanguinis Christi. S. Aug. cont. Faust. lib. xx. cap. 18. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. ix. col. 345. Ed.]

[3] The other passages from St Augustine are to be found in the notes to the Treatise on Transubstantiation: see pp. 39, 40, 41. Ed.]

Nicolai Ridlei episcopi Londinensis judicium de epistolis decretalibus, sc. Clementis, Anacleti, Lucii, Pontiani, et aliorum vetustissimorum pontificum.

E MSS. Bibl. Coll. Emm. apud Cantab.

Ego sane censeo esse supposititias et ab impostoribus subornatas, ut crederentur falso esse patrum decreta—nec possum adduci ut credam quæ citantur ex decretalibus epistolis Gelasii et Vigilii et [*aliorum*] Pontificum Romanorum, esse vere illorum. Nunquam credam tam doctos viros tantopere delirasse, ut Petrum Cephas dictum dicerent quia esset caput, quod Cephas caput significaret. Et Jacobum mortuum esse constat priusquam Clemens in sede Romanâ constitutus est. Multaque præterea illic scribuntur, quæ ab illius temporis conditione prorsus sunt alienissima. In unâ epistolâ, sicut memini, dicitur, quòd, sicut uxor ob nullam viri culpam potest virum deserere, ita nunquam ecclesia potest deponere suum episcopum propter ulla crimina, &c.

Et doctrina talis multa est in illis, quæ, collata cum classicis scriptoribus et veteribus, facile meo judicio ostendit illas non esse istorum pontificum Romanorum, qui fuerunt viri doctissimi et sanctissimi. Hæc ego respondenda esse censeo Bradfordo meo ad suam quæstionem de authoritate harum epistolarum.

De phrasi in epistolis ascriptis Pontiano, in quâ dicitur, "Presbyteri ore conficiunt corpus Christi", nihil est quod quemcunque offendat, si more veterum intelligatur verbum: ita enim loquitur Hieronymus; "Absit ut aliquid mali suspicietur de iis qui ore sacro dominicum corpus conficiunt[1]."

[1] The following passage was probably that to which Ridley referred, "Absit ut de his [clericis] quidquam sinistrum loquar, quia Apostolico

"Conficere corpus Domini" illis nihil aliud erat quam conficere sacramentum corporis Domini, quæ pars erat ministerii nostri Domini; nam qui ministrabant verbum Dei, iidem et panem perpetuo frangebant, et ut Tertullianus[2] ait, antiquitus "non nisi de præsidentium manu panem dominicum sumere consueverunt," hoc est, non [*nisi*] ab illis sanctificatum. Et quod ad honorem presbyterorum pertinet, si modò tales essent quales esse deberent, qui et in verbo et doctrinâ laborarent, quales multos fuisse in illo tempore valde est credibile, status est vere venerabilium et honorabilium virorum.

Paulus, Act. ii. Act. xx.

gradui succedentes, Christi corpus sacro ore conficiunt, per quos et nos Christiani sumus. S. Hieron. Epist. 5. ad. Heliodorum Monachum. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. tom. iv. pars 2. p. 10. Ed.]

[2 The words of Tertullian are: "Eucharistiæ sacramentum et in tempore victus, et omnibus mandatum a Domino, etiam antelucanis cœtibus, nec de aliorum manu quam præsidentium sumimus." De Corona, cap. 3. Op. Rigalt. Paris, 1641. p. 121. Ed.]

From the MSS. in the Library of Emmanuel Coll. Camb.

[The Judgement of Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of London, concerning the decretal epistles, to wit, those of Clement, Anacletus, Lucius, Pontianus, and other most ancient pontiffs.

I fully believe them to be suppositious and suborned by impostors, that they might falsely be deemed to be the decrees of the fathers. Nor can I be induced to believe those passages which are cited from the decretal epistles of Gelasius and Vigilius, and of [*other*] Roman pontiffs, to be truly theirs. I will never believe such learned men so to have raved, as to say that Peter was called Cephas because he was the head, for that Cephas signifies "head." And it is evident that James was dead before Clement was appointed to the Roman see. And many other things besides are there written which are altogether inconsistent with the circumstances of that period. In one epistle it is asserted, as I remember, that as a wife may not on account of any fault in her husband desert her husband, so neither could a Church, on account of any crimes, depose her Bishop.

And much of such doctrine is there in them, which, when compared with the old and classical writers, shews them easily, in my judgement, not to be the works of those Roman Pontiffs, who were most learned and holy men. Thus then do I think it well to answer my Bradford's question concerning the authority of these epistles.

As to the phrase in the epistles ascribed to Pontianus, in which it is said, "the priests with their mouth make [*conficiunt*] the body of Christ",—there is nothing which can offend any body, if the word be understood after the usage of the ancients—for so also speaks Jerome: "Let there be

no evil suspected of those who by their sacred mouth make [*conficiunt*] the Lord's body [*corpus dominicum*]. For with them to make [*conficere*] the body of the Lord, was no other than to make [*conficere*] the sacrament of the Lord's body, which was a part of the ministry of our Lord; for they who ministered the word of God, the same also perpetually broke bread—and as Tertullian says, "anciently they were not accustomed to receive the bread of the Lord save from the hands of those presiding over them—i. e. unless it had been sanctified by them. St Paul, Acts ii. xx.

And as to what concerns the honour of the priests, if only they were, as they ought to be, men who laboured both in the word and in doctrine, such as in that period it is highly credible that many were, [*then*] is it truly the position of venerable and honourable men. Ed.]

DISPUTATIONS AND EXAMINATIONS.

I. DISPUTATION AT OXFORD BETWEEN DR SMITH, WITH HIS COLLEAGUES AND OTHER DOCTORS, AND BISHOP RIDLEY.

II. THE ORDER AND MANNER OF THE EXAMINATION OF DOCTOR RIDLEY HAD THE 30TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1555, BEFORE THE QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

I.

DISPUTATION AT OXFORD

BETWEEN

DR SMITH,

WITH HIS OTHER COLLEAGUES AND DOCTORS,

AND

BISHOP RIDLEY.

REPRINTED FROM FOX'S ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

DISPUTATION AT OXFORD

BETWEEN

DR SMITH,

WITH HIS OTHER COLLEAGUES AND DOCTORS,

AND

BISHOP RIDLEY.

PREFACE OF FOX.

Smith set to dispute against Ridley.

The next day following, which was the 17th[1] of April, [1555] was brought forth Dr Ridley to dispute; against whom was set Dr Smith[2] to be principal opponent. Touching which Dr Smith, forsomuch as mention here happeneth of his name, first the reader is to be advertised what is to be attributed to his judgment in religion, who so oftentimes before had turned and returned to and fro, grounded (as it seemeth) upon no firm conscience of doctrine, as both by his articles by him

[1 This is said in some editions to have been April 12th, in others April 13th, and in the MSS. in the library of C.C.C. at Cambridge to have taken place on April 2, but Tuesday, April 17th, appears to have been the correct date. Strype in his life of Cranmer, (Book III. chap. 10.) gives the order of the proceedings day by day, grounding it as he alleges on a letter written by Dr Weston himself to the Bishop of London (Bonner): from this account it seems, that by a legal instrument the University of Cambridge authorised their Commissioners to go to Oxford to the Disputation; this was done by the Senate, April 10th, and at the same time a letter was written by the authority of the Senate to the University of Oxford; both these documents, viz. the legal instrument and the letter are given by Strype; (Append. nos. 77, 78,) the process commenced on Saturday. Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer disputed on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. On Wednesday, April 18th, the disputations ended, and on Friday, April 20th, all the three disputants were condemned. Ed.]

[2 A full account of Dr Smith, together with the reason of his leaving England will be found in Strype's life of Cranmer, Book II. chap. 7 and 22. Ed.]

recanted may appear, and also by his own letter sent a little before in king Edward's days to the archbishop of Canterbury from Scotland. Which letter I thought here to exhibit as a certain preface before his own arguments, or rather as a testimony against himself, whereby the reader may understand how devoutly he magnified them and their doctrine a little before, against whom he now disputeth so busily. Read I beseech thee his epistle, and judge.

The true Copy of a certain Epistle of Dr Richard Smith to Dr Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, declaring his Affection to the setting forth of God's sincere Word.

Most honourable, I commend me unto your lordship, doing the same to understand, that I wrote letters to your grace in January last and the 10th day of February, declaring the causes of my sudden and unadvised departing from your grace over the sea; and desiring your good lordship, of your charity toward them that repent of their ill acts, to forgive me yourself all the wrong I did towards your grace, and to obtain in writing the king's majesty's pardon for me in all points concerning his laws: upon the receipt whereof I would return again home, and, within half a year (at the uttermost) afterward, write "De Sacerdotum Connubiis," etc. a Latin book that should be a just satisfaction for any thing that I have written against the same. Reliquaque omnia dogmata vestra tum demum libentur amplexurum, ubi Deus mentem meam [ita persuadeat] ut ea citra conscientiæ læsionem agnoscam doceamque. I wrote not this that I want any good living here, but because mine absence out of the realm is dishonour to the king's highness and realm, and because I must need's (if I tarry here a quarter of a year longer) write an answer to your grace's book of the sacrament, and also a book of common places against all the doctrine set forth by the king's majesty, which I cannot do with a good conscience. Wherefore I beseech your grace help me home, as soon as you may conveniently, for God's sake; and ye shall never, I trust in God, repent that fact.

Dr Smith purposing to write for the marriage of priests.

Ex urbe divi Andreæ. 14. Feb. [1550.]

Rich. Smitheus.

And thus much touching the forenamed Dr Richard Smith, being set here (as is said) to dispute against bishop Ridley, who was brought now, the next day after the archbishop, to answer in the divinity school. Against whom also, besides Dr Smith, disputed Dr Weston, Dr Tresham, Dr Oglethorpe, Dr Glyn, Dr Seton, and Dr Cole, Master Ward, Master Harpsfield, Dr Watson, Master Pie, Master Harding, Master Curtop, Master Fecknam: to all them he answered very learnedly. He made a preface to these questions, but they would not let him go forth in it, but caused him to make an end of the same, and said it was blasphemy. And some said, he drove off the time in ambignous things, nothing to the purpose; and so they would not suffer him to say his mind. Dr Smith could get nothing at his hand; insomuch that others did take his arguments and prosecuted them. He shewed himself to be learned, and a great clerk. They could bring nothing, but he knew it as well as they.

Disputers against Ridley.

The Disputation beginneth.

Weston the Prolocutor:—"Good christian people and brethren, we have begun this day our school, by God's good speed, I trust; and are entering into a controversy, whereof no question ought to be moved, concerning the verity of the body of our Lord Jesu Christ in the eucharist. Christ is true, who said the words. The words are true which he spake, yea, truth itself that cannot fail. Let us therefore pray unto God to send down unto us his holy Spirit, which is the true interpreter of his word; which may purge away errors, and give light, that verity may appear. Let us also ask leave and liberty of the church, to permit the truth received to be called this day in question, without any prejudice to the same. Your parts thereof shall be to implore the assistance of Almighty God, to pray for the prosperity of the queen's majesty, and to give us quiet and attentive ears. Now go to your question."

Dr Smith:—"This day, right learned Master Doctor, three questions are propounded, whereof no controversy among Christians ought to be moved, to wit;

The questions.

"First, Whether the natural body of Christ our Saviour conceived of the Virgin Mary, and offered for man's redemption upon the cross, is verily and really in the sacrament by virtue of God's word spoken by the priests, &c.

"Secondly, Whether in the sacrament, after the words of consecration, be any other substance, &c.

"Thirdly, Whether in the mass be a sacrifice propitiatory, &c.

"Touching the which questions, although you have publicly and apertly professed your judgment and opinion on Saturday last; yet being not satisfied with that your answer, I will essay again to demand your sentence in the first question—whether the true body of Christ, after the words pronounced, be really in the eucharist, or else only the figure. In which matter I stand here now to hear your answer."

The Preface or Protestation of Dr Ridley before his Disputation.[1]

"I received of you the other day, right worshipful master prolocutor, and ye my reverend masters, commissioners from the queen's majesty and her honourable council, three propositions; whereunto ye commanded me to prepare against this day, what I thought good to answer concerning the same.

"Now, whilst I weighed with myself how great a charge of the Lord's flock was of late committed unto me, for the which I am certain I must once render an account to my Lord God (and that how soon, he knoweth), and that moreover, by the commandment of the Apostle Peter, I ought to be ready alway to give a reason of the hope that is in me with meekness and reverence, unto every one that shall demand the same: beside this, considering my duty to the Church of Christ, and to your worships, being commissioners by public authority; I determined with myself to obey your commandment, and so openly to declare unto you my mind touching the aforesaid propositions. And albeit, plainly to confess

What moved Ridley to alter his.

[1] This Preface or Protestation exists in Ridley's own Latin, and will be found in Appendix I. Ed.]

unto you the truth in these things which ye now demand of me, I have thought otherwise in times past than now I do, yet (God I call to record unto my soul, I lie not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by constraint of any man or laws, either for the dread of any dangers of this world, either for any hope of commodity; but only for the love of the truth revealed unto me by the grace of God (as I am undoubtedly persuaded) in his holy word, and in the reading of the ancient fathers. judgment from the church of Rome.

"These things I do rather recite at this present, because it may happen to some of you hereafter, as in times past it hath done to me: I mean, if ye think otherwise of the matters propounded in these propositions than now I do, God may open them unto you in time to come.

"But howsoever it shall be, I will in few words do that which I think ye all look I should do; that is, as plainly as I can, I will declare my judgment herein. Howbeit of this I would ye were not ignorant, that I will not indeed wittingly and willingly speak in any point against God's word, or dissent in any one jot from the same, or from the rules of faith, and christian religion: which rules that same most sacred word of God prescribeth to the church of Christ, whereunto I now and for ever submit myself and all my doings. And because the matter I have now taken in hand is weighty, and ye all well know how unready I am to handle it accordingly, as well for lack of time, as also lack of books; therefore here I protest, that I will publicly this day require of you, that it may be lawful for me, concerning all mine answers, explications, and confirmations, to add or diminish whatsoever shall seem hereafter more convenient and meet for the purpose, through more sound judgment, better deliberation, and more exact trial of every particular thing. Having now, by the way of preface and protestation, spoken these few words, I will come to the answering of the propositions propounded unto me, and so to the most brief explication and confirmation of mine answers." Ridley submitteth himself to the church of Christ.

Weston:—"Reverend master doctor, concerning the lack of books there is no cause why you should complain. What books soever you will name, ye shall have them; and as concerning the judgment of your answers to be had of your- This promise was not kept.

self with further deliberation, it shall, I say, be lawful for you, until Sunday next, to add unto them what you shall think good yourself. My mind is, that we should use short arguments, lest we should make an infinite process of the thing."

Ridley:—"There is another thing besides, which I would gladly obtain at your hands. I perceive that you have writers and notaries here present. By all likelihood our disputations shall be published[1]: I beseech you for God's sake, let me have liberty to speak my mind freely, and without interruption; not because I have determined to protract the time with a solemn preface, but lest it may appear that some be not satisfied. God wot I am no orator, nor have I learned rhetoric to set colours on the matter."

Weston:—"Among this whole company it shall be permitted you to take two for your part."

Ridley:—"I will choose two, if there are any here with whom I were acquainted."

These two notaries were master Jewel, sometime bishop of Salisbury, and master Gilbert Mounson.

Weston:—"Here are two which master Cranmer had yesterday. Take them, if it please you."

Ridley:—"I am content with them; I trust they are honest men."

The First Proposition.

In the sacrament of the altar, by the virtue of God's word spoken of the priest, the natural body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, and his natural blood are really present under the forms of bread and wine.

The Answer of Dr Ridley.

The proposition put forth in dark terms.

Ridley:—"In matters appertaining to God we may not speak according to the sense of man, nor of the world: therefore this proposition or conclusion is framed after another manner of phrase or kind of speech than the Scripture useth.

[1 "Shall be published." Dr Wordsworth says: "However this might be intended by the Romish party, yet the design was never executed, for reasons which it requires no Œdipus to conjecture. They were challenged by the Protestants to make them public. 'And yet for all this, I warrant you, they be not hasty in putting forth the disputations in print. As much as they brag, I dare say they will never put them forth.'" Ed.]

Again, it is very obscure and dark, by means of sundry words of doubtful signification. And being taken in the sense which the schoolmen teach, and at this time the church of Rome doth defend, it is false and erroneous, and plain contrary to the doctrine which is according to godliness."

The Explication.

Ridley:—"How far the diversity and newness of the phrase, in all this first proposition, is from the phrase of the holy Scripture, and that in every part almost, it is so plain and evident to any that is but meanly exercised in holy writ, that I need not now (especially in this company of learned men), to spend any time therein, except the same shall be required of me hereafter.

"First, there is a doubtful sense in these words 'by virtue of God's word:' for it is doubtful what word of God this is; whether it be that which is read in the evangelists, or in Paul, or any other. And if it be that which is in the evangelists, or in St Paul, what that is. If it be in none of them, then how it may be known to be God's word, and of such virtue that it should be able to work so great a matter. First doubt.

"Again, there is a doubt in these words 'of the priest,' whether no man may be called a priest, but he which hath authority to make propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead; and how it may be proved that this authority was committed of God to any man, but to Christ alone. Second doubt.

"It is likewise doubted, after what order the sacrificing priest shall be, whether after the order of Aaron, or else after the order of Melchizedek. For as far as I know, the holy Scripture doth allow no more." Third doubt.

Weston:—"Let this be sufficient."

Ridley:—"If we lack time at this present, there is time enough hereafter."

Weston:—"These are but evasions or starting holes: you consume the time in vain."

Ridley:—"I cannot start far from you: I am captive and bound."

Weston:—"Fall to it, my masters."

Smith:—"That which you have spoken, may suffice at this present."

Ridley:—"Let me alone, I pray you; for I have not much to say behind."

Weston:—"Go forward."

Fourth doubt.

Ridley:—"Moreover, there is ambiguity in this word 'really,' whether it be to be taken as the logicians term it, 'transcendenter;' that is, most generally: and so it may signify any manner of thing which belongeth to the body of Christ, by any means: after which sort we also grant Christ's body to be really in the sacrament of the Lord's supper (as in disputation, if occasion be given, shall be declared), or whether it be taken to signify the very same thing, having body, life, and soul, which was assumed and taken of the word of God into the unity of person. In which sense, since the body of Christ is really in heaven, because of the true manner of his body, it may not be said to be here in the earth.

Fifth doubt.

"There is yet a further doubtfulness in these words, 'under the forms of bread and wine,' whether the forms be there taken to signify the only accidental and outward shews of bread and wine; or therewithal the substantial natures thereof, which are to be seen by their qualities, and perceived by exterior senses. Now the error and falseness of the proposition, after the sense of the Roman church and schoolmen, may hereby appear, in that they affirm the bread to be transubstantiated and changed into the flesh assumed of the word of God, and that (as they say) by virtue of the word, which they have devised by a certain number of words, and cannot be found in any of the evangelists, or in Paul; and so they gather that Christ's body is really contained in the sacrament of the altar. Which position is grounded upon the foundation of the transubstantiation; which foundation is monstrous, against reason, and destroyeth the analogy or proportion of the sacraments; and therefore this proposition also, which is builded upon this rotten foundation, is false, erroneous, and to be counted as a detestable heresy of the sacramentaries."

The proposition erroneous after the sense of the Romish church.

Transubstantiation not founded in Scripture.

Weston:—"We lose time."

Ridley:—"You shall have time enough."

Weston:—"Fall to reasoning. You shall have some other day for this matter."

Ridley:—"I have no more to say concerning my explication. If you will give me leave, and let me alone, I will but speak a word or two for my confirmation."

Weston:—"Go to; say on."

The Confirmation of the aforesaid Answer.

Fes-[1] *Ridley:*—"There ought no doctrine to be established in the church of God, which dissenteth from the word of God, from the rule of faith, and draweth with it many absurdities that cannot be avoided. Argument.

ti- "But this doctrine of the first proposition is such:

no. "Ergo, It ought not to be established and maintained in the church of God.

"The major or first part of my argument is plain, and the minor or second part is proved thus:

"This doctrine maintaineth a real, corporal, and carnal presence of Christ's flesh, assumed and taken of the word, to be in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that not by virtue and grace only, but also by the whole essence and substance of the body and flesh of Christ.

"But such a presence disagreeth from God's word, from the rule of faith, and cannot but draw with it many absurdities: The real presence disagreeth from Scripture.

"Ergo, The second part is true.

"The first part of this argument is manifest, and the second may yet further be confirmed thus:"—

Weston:—"Thus you consume time, which might be better bestowed on other matters. Master opponent, I pray you to your arguments." Weston again interrupteth Ridley.

Smith:—"I will here reason with you upon transubstan-

[1] It may be well to observe, that ratiocination, according to the rules of logic, is conducted by means of figures and moods, as they are termed; these are couched in certain mnemonic words, which have been put into five mnemonic hexameters, as follows:

Fig. 1. Barbara, Celarent, Darii, Ferioque prioris.
Fig. 2. Cesare, Camestres, Festino, Baroco, secundæ.
Fig. 3. et 4. Tertia, Darapti, Disamis, Datisi, Velapton.
Bokardo, Feriso habet. quarta insuper addit,
Bramantip, Camenes, Damaris, Felapo, Fresison.

See also Abp. Whately's Logic. Ed.]

tiation, which you say is contrary to the rule and analogy of faith; the contrary whereof I proved by the Scriptures and the doctors. But before I enter argumentation with you, I demand first, whether in the sixth chapter of John there be any mention made of the sacrament, or of the real presence of Christ in the sacrament?"

Ridley:—"It is against reason, that I should be impeached to prosecute that which I have to speak in this assembly; being not so long, but that it may be comprehended in few words."

Weston:—"Let him read on."

Seven inconveniences come of the real presence.

Ridley:—"First of all, this presence is contrary to many places of the holy Scripture.

"Secondly, it varieth from the articles of the faith.

"Thirdly, it destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper.

"Fourthly, it maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons; for it casteth that which is holy unto dogs, and pearls unto swine.

"Fifthly, it forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles without necessity and authority of God's word.

"Sixthly, it giveth occasion to the heretics, who erred concerning the two natures in Christ, to defend their heresies thereby.

"Seventhly, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers; it falsifieth also the catholic faith of the church, which the Apostles taught, the martyrs confirmed, and the faithful (as Vigilius. one of the fathers saith) do retain and keep until this day. Wherefore the second part of mine argument is true."

The Probation of the second or minor[1] part of this Argument by the parts thereof.

The seven inconveniences declared by parts. John xvi. Acts iii.

"This carnal presence is contrary to the word of God, as appeareth thus:—'I tell you the truth. It is profitable to you that I go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter shall not come unto you.' 'Whom the heavens must receive until the time of restoring of all things which God hath

[1 Some editions have "antecedent or former part"; but on a reference to the syllogism in p. 197,—Festino,—it is plainly the second or minor against which Ridley is here arguing. Ed.]

spoken.' 'The children of the bridegroom cannot mourn so long as the bridegroom is with them: but now is the time of mourning.' 'But I will see you again, and your hearts shall rejoice.' 'I will come again and take you to myself.' 'If they shall say unto you, Behold, here is Christ, or there is Christ, believe them not: for wheresoever the dead carcass is, thither the eagles will resort.' 1. The real presence against the Scripture. Matt. ix. John xvi. John xiv. Matt. xxiv.

"It varieth from the articles of the faith: 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, from whence (and not from any other place, saith St Augustine), he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead.' 2. Against the articles of the faith.

"It destroyeth and taketh away the institution of the Lord's supper, which was commanded only to be used and continued until the Lord himself should come. If, therefore, he be now really present in the body of his flesh, then must the supper cease: for a remembrance is not of a thing present, but of a thing past and absent. And there is a difference between remembrance and presence, and, as one of the fathers saith, 'A figure is in vain where the thing figured is present.' 3. It destroyeth the institution of the Lord's supper.

"It maketh precious things common to profane and ungodly persons, and constraineth men to confess many absurdities. For it affirmeth, that whoremongers and murderers, yea, and (as some of them hold opinion) the wicked and faithless, mice, rats, and dogs also, may receive the very real and corporal body of the Lord, wherein the fulness of the Spirit of light and grace dwelleth: contrary to the manifest words of Christ in six places and sentences of John vi. 4. It profaneth, &c.

"It confirmeth also and maintaineth that beastly kind of cruelty of the 'Anthropophagi,' that is, the devourers of man's flesh: for it is a more cruel thing to devour a quick man, than to slay him." The "Anthropophagi" are a kind of brutish people that feed on man's flesh.

Pie:—"He requireth time to speak blasphemies. Leave your blasphemies."

Ridley:—"I had little thought to have had such reproachful words at your hands[2]."

Weston:—"All is quiet. Go to your arguments, master doctor."

[2 See Ridley's account of this tumultuous behaviour, among the documents before the letters. Ed.]

Ridley:—"I have not many more things to say."

Weston:—"You utter blasphemies with a most impudent face: leave off, I say, and get you to the argument."

All the rest that followeth was not read, because the prolocutor made post-haste to the arguments.

Ridley:—"It forceth men to maintain many monstrous miracles, without any necessity and authority of God's word. For at the coming of this presence of the body and flesh of Christ, they thrust away the substance of bread, and affirm that the accidents remain without any subject; and, in the stead thereof, they place Christ's body without his qualities and the true manner of a body. And if the sacrament be reserved so long until it mould, and worms breed, some say that the substance of bread miraculously returneth again, and some deny it. Other some affirm, the real body of Christ goeth down into the stomach of the receivers, and doth there abide so long only as they shall continue to be good. But another sort hold, that the body of Christ is carried into heaven, so soon as the forms of bread be bruised with the teeth. O works of miracles! Truly, and most truly, I see that fulfilled in these men, whereof St Paul prophesied, 'Because they have not received the love of the truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies, and be all damned which have not believed the truth.' This gross presence hath brought forth that fond phantasy of concomitance, whereby is broken at this day and abrogated the commandment of the Lord for the distributing of the Lord's cup to the laity.

5. It maintaineth monstrous miracles without necessity.

2 Thess. ii.

By this device of concomitance, the papists imagine as much to be received under one kind as both.

"It giveth occasion to heretics to maintain and defend their errors; as to Marcion, which said that Christ had but a phantastical body; and to Eutyches, which wickedly confounded the two natures in Christ.

6. It giveth occasion to heretics.

"Finally, it falsifieth the sayings of the godly fathers and the catholic faith of the church, which Vigilius, a martyr and grave writer, saith, was taught of the apostles, confirmed with the blood of martyrs, and was continually maintained by the faithful until his time. By the sayings of the fathers, I mean of Justin, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius Emissenus[1], Athanasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Jerome, Chrysos-

7. It falsifieth the sayings of the old doctors.

[1 Eusebius, Bp. of Emesa or Emissa, in Syria, and here called Emissenus, to distinguish him from Eusebius the historian: it is however probable, that the writer here referred to is Eusebius Philo-

tom, Augustine, Vigilius, Fulgentius, Bertram, and other most ancient fathers. All those places, as I am sure I have read making for my purpose, so am I well assured that I could shew the same, if I might have the use of mine own books; which I will take on me to do, even upon the peril of my life, and loss of all that I may lose in this world.

The faith and confession of Ridley in affirming the true presence in the sacrament.

"But now, my brethren, think not, because I disallow that presence which the first proposition maintaineth (as a presence which I take to be forged, phantastical, and, beside the authority of God's word, perniciously brought into the church by the Romanists), that I therefore go about to take away the true presence of Christ's body in his supper rightly and duly ministered, which is grounded upon the word of God, and made more plain by the commentaries of the faithful fathers. They that think so of me, the Lord knoweth how far they are deceived. And to make the same evident unto you, I will in few words declare, what true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the Lord's supper I hold and affirm, with the word of God and the ancient fathers.

St Paul.

"I say and confess with the evangelist Luke, and with the Apostle Paul, that the bread on the which thanks are given, is the body of Christ in the remembrance of him and his death, to be set forth perpetually of the faithful until his coming.

"I say and confess, the bread which we break to be the communion and partaking of Christ's body, with the ancient and the faithful fathers.

Cyprian.

"I say and believe, that there is not only a signification of Christ's body set forth by the sacrament, but also that therewith is given to the godly and faithful the grace of Christ's body, that is, the food of life and immortality. And this I hold with Cyprian.

Augustine. Emissene. Athanasius. Hilary.

"I say also with St Augustine, that we eat life and we drink life; with Emissene, that we feel the Lord to be present in grace; with Athanasius, that we receive celestial food, which cometh from above; the property of natural communion, with Hilary; the nature of flesh, and benediction which

sophus, of whom Hoffman says, "Ex generosis Edessæ in Mesopotamia parentibus natus est. Extant homiliæ ejus lat. 8, Par. A.D. 1554. Op. 1575. Vixit tempore Constantii Imp. sub quo mortuus est, et Antiochia sepultus est, ideoque saltem ante A.D. 361 vivere desiit." Ed.]

Cyril. giveth life, in bread and wine, with Cyril; and with the same Cyril, the virtue of the very flesh of Christ, life and grace of his body, the property of the only begotten, that is to say, life; as he himself in plain words expoundeth it.

Basil. "I confess also with Basil, that we receive the mystical advent and coming of Christ, grace and the virtue of his very Ambrose. nature; the sacrament of his very flesh, with Ambrose; the Epiphanius. body by grace, with Epiphanius; spiritual flesh, but not that Jerome. which was crucified, with Jerome; grace flowing into a sacrifice, and the grace of the Spirit, with Chrysostom; grace and invisible verity, grace and society of the members of Christ's body, with Augustine.

Chrysostom, &c.

Bertram. "Finally, with Bertram (who was the last of all these) I confess that Christ's body is in the sacrament in this respect; namely, as he writeth, because there is in it the Spirit of Christ, that is, the power of the word of God, which not only feedeth the soul, but also cleanseth it. Out of these I suppose it may clearly appear unto all men, how far we are from that opinion, whereof some go about falsely to slander us to the world, saying, we teach that the godly and faithful should receive nothing else at the Lord's table, but a figure of the body of Christ[1]."

The Second Proposition.

After the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, neither any other substance, than the substance of God and man.

The Answer of Dr Ridley.

Transubstantiation denied. *Ridley*:—"The second conclusion is manifestly false, directly against the word of God, the nature of the sacrament, and the most evident testimonies of the godly fathers; and it is the rotten foundation of the other two conclusions propounded by you, both of the first and of the third. I will not therefore now tarry upon any further explication of this answer, being contented with that which is already added afore to the answer of the first proposition."

[1 The greater part, if not the whole, of the authors here mentioned, are cited by Ridley in former works—and as they are here only referred to generally, it has not been thought necessary to cite passages from them. Ed.]

The First Argument for the confirmation of this Answer.

"It is very plain by the word of God, that Christ did give bread unto his disciples, and called it his body.

"But the substance of bread is another manner of substance than is the substance of Christ's body, God and man:

"Therefore, the conclusion is false.

"The second part of mine argument is plain, and the first is proved thus:

The Second Argument.

Da- "That which Christ did take, on the which he gave thanks, and the which he brake, he gave to his disciples, and called it his body.

ti- "But he took bread, gave thanks on bread, and brake bread:

si. "Ergo, The first part is true. And it is confirmed with the authorities of the fathers, Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, Epiphanius, Jerome, Augustine, Theodoret, Cyril, Rabanus, and Bede: whose places I will take upon me to shew most manifest in this behalf, if I may be suffered to have my books, as my request is.

"Bread is the body of Christ:

"Ergo, It is bread."

A tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacens cum verbi substantivi pura copula.

The rule of logic is this: "A propositione de tertio adjacente ad eam quæ est de secundo cum verbo recto significante existentiam, valet consequentia affirmavit," &c.

The Third Argument.

Ba- "As the bread of the Lord's table is Christ's natural body, so is it his mystical body.

ro- "But it is not Christ's mystical body by transubstantiation:

co. "Ergo, It is not his natural body by transubstantiation.

"The second part of my argument is plain, and the first is proved thus: As Christ, who is the verity, spake of the bread, 'This is my body which shall be betrayed for you,' speaking there of his natural body: even so Paul, moved with the same Spirit of truth, said, 'We, though we be many,

The major proved.

1 Cor. x.

yet are we all one bread and one body, which be partakers of one bread.'"

The Fourth Argument.

The argument holdeth.

"We may no more believe bread to be transubstantiate into the body of Christ, than the wine into his blood.

"But the wine is not transubstantiate into his blood:

"A destructione antecedentis, ad destructionem consequentis."

"Ergo, Neither is that bread, therefore, transubstantiate into his body.

"The first part of this argument is manifest; and the second part is proved out of the authority of God's word, in Matthew and Mark, 'I will not drink of the fruit of the vine,' &c. Now the fruit of the vine was wine, which Christ drank and gave to his disciples to drink. With this sentence agreeth plainly the place of Chrysostom on the twentieth chapter of Matthew[1]: as Cyprian[2] doth also, affirming that there is no blood, if wine be not in the cup."

Matt. xxvi. Mark xiv.

Chrysostom. Cyprian.

The Fifth Argument.

Ba- "The words of Christ spoken upon the cup and upon the bread have like effect and working.

ro- "But the words spoken upon the cup have not virtue to transubstantiate:

This argument holdeth after the same rule as did the other before.

co. "Ergo, It followeth, that the words spoken upon the bread have no such virtue.

"The second part of the argument is proved; because they should then transubstantiate the cup, or that which is in the cup, into the new testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confess the same."

The Sixth Argument.

Da- "The circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy and proportion of the sacraments, and the testimony

[1] The passage probably referred to in Chrysostom is in the 82 Homily on Matth. 26th chap., ἄμπελος δὲ οἶνον οὐχ ὕδωρ γεννᾷ. S. Chrysost. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1727, tom. VII. p. 784. Ed.]

[2] Nam eum dicat Christus, Ego sum vitis vera, sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed vinum, nec potest videri sanguis ejus, quo redempti et vivificati sumus, esse in ealiee, quando vinum desit caliei quo Christi sanguis ostenditur. S. Cypriani Epist. LXIII. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726, p. 104. Ed.]

of the faithful fathers, ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the holy Scripture touching the sacrament.

ti- "But the words of the Lord's supper, the circumstances of the Scripture, the analogy of the sacraments, and the sayings of the fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lord's supper:

si. "Ergo, A figurative sense and meaning is specially to be received in these words, 'This is my body.'

The circumstances and words of Scripture.

"The circumstances of the Scripture: 'Do this in the remembrance of me.' 'As oft as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall shew forth the Lord's death.' 'Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this bread, and drink of this cup.' 'They came together to break bread; and they continued in breaking of bread.' 'The bread which we break,' &c. 'For we, being many, are all one bread and one body,' &c.

The analogy of the sacraments.

"The analogy of the sacraments is necessary: for if the sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, they could in no wise be sacraments. And this similitude in the sacrament of the Lord's supper is taken three manner of ways:

Analogy in three ways.

"The first consisteth in nourishing; as ye shall read in Rabanus, Cyprian, Augustine, Irenæus, and, most plainly, in Isidore out of Bertram.

"The second is the uniting and joining of many into one, as Cyprian teacheth.

"The third is a similitude of unlike things, where, like as the bread is turned into one body, so we by the right use of this sacrament are turned through faith into the body of Christ.

The sayings for the figurative speech.

"The sayings of the fathers declare it to be a figurative speech, as it appeareth in Origen, Tertullian, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, and, most plainly of all, in Bertram. Moreover, the sayings and places of all the fathers, whose names I have before recited against the assertion of the first proposition, do quite overthrow transubstantiation: but of all other most evidently and plainly, Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Chrysostom (to Cæsarius

the monk), Augustine (against Adamantus), Gelasius, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom again on Matthew xx., Rabanus, Damascene[1], and Bertram.

Commendation of Bertram.

"Here, right worshipful master prolocutor and ye the rest of the commissioners, it may please you to understand, that I do not lean to these things only, which I have written in my former answers and confirmations, but that I have also, for the proof of that I have spoken, whatsoever Bertram, a man learned, of sound and upright judgment, and ever counted a catholic for these seven hundred years until this our age, hath written. His treatise whosoever shall read and weigh, considering the time of the writer, his learning, godliness of life, the allegations of the ancient fathers, and his manifold and most grounded arguments, I cannot (doubtless) but much marvel, if he have any fear of God at all, how he can, with good conscience, speak against him in this matter of the sacrament. This Bertram was the first that pulled me by the ear, and that first brought me from the common error of the Romish church, and caused me to search more diligently and exactly both the Scriptures and the writings of the old ecclesiastical fathers in this matter. And this I protest before the face of God, who knoweth I lie not in the things I now speak."

Ridley first brought to the knowledge of the sacrament by Bertram.

The Third Proposition.

In the mass is the lively sacrifice of the church, propitiable and available for the sins as well of quick as of the dead.

The Answer of Dr Ridley.

Ridley:—"I answer to this third proposition as I did to the first: and moreover I say, that being taken in such sense as the words seem to import, it is not only erroneous, but withal so much to the derogation and defacing of the death and passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious blood of our Saviour Christ."

[1 Damascenus, Johannes, Pater Ecclesiæ et Historicus, de quo vide Voss. de Hist. Gr. Floruit sub Leone Isaurico. Patriam Damascum habuit, vixitque, ut Petrus Martyr contra Gardinerum probat, circa A.D. 740. Hoffman. Lexicon. ED.]

The Explication.

"Concerning the Romish mass which is used at this day, or the lively sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable. Doubts in the third proposition.

"There is ambiguity also in the name of mass: what it signifieth, and whether at this day there be any such indeed, as the ancient fathers used; seeing that now there be neither catechists nor 'pœnitentes' to be sent away. In the primitive church the newly instructed in the faith and the unworthy were put away from the communion.

"Again, touching these words, 'the lively sacrifice of the church,' there is a doubt whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the sacrament of the lively sacrifice (after which sort we deny it not to be in the Lord's supper), or properly and without any figure: after the which manner there was but one only sacrifice, and that once offered, namely, upon the altar of the cross.

"Moreover, in these words 'as well as,' it may be doubted whether they be spoken in mockage; as men are wont to say in sport, of a foolish and ignorant person, that he is apt as well in conditions as in knowledge—being apt indeed in neither of them both.

"There is also a doubt in the word 'propitiable,' whether it signify here, that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available[2] for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active or in the passive signification.

"Now the falseness of the proposition, after the meaning of the schoolmen and the Romish church, and impiety in that sense which the words seem to import, is this: that they, leaning to the foundation of their fond transubstantiation, would make the quick and lively body of Christ, flesh, united and knit to the Divinity, to lie hid under the accidents and outward shews of bread and wine; which is very false, as I The falseness of the third proposition reproved.

[2 "Made available." The original in Latin is *an quod potest reddi propitium;* and "therefore," says Dr Wordsworth, "the translation does not reach the sense of the original. The meaning of the clause is; 'Whether it signify here, that which propitiates, or that which may be propitiated, that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active, or in the passive signification.'" Ed.]

have said afore: and they, building upon this foundation, do hold that the same body is offered unto God by the priest in his daily massings, to put away the sins of the quick and the dead; whereas by the Apostle to the Hebrews it is evident, that there is but one oblation, and one true and lively sacrifice of the church offered upon the altar of the cross, which was, is, and shall be for ever the propitiation for the sins of the whole world: and where there is remission of the same, there is (saith the Apostle) no more offering for sin."

But one sacrifice in the Scripture.

Arguments confirming his Answer.

Heb. v.

Ce- "No sacrifice ought to be done, but where the priest is meet to offer the same.

la- "All other priests be unmeet to offer sacrifice propitiatory for sin, save only Christ:

rent. "Ergo, No other priests ought to sacrifice for sin, but Christ alone.

"The second part of my argument is thus proved.

Fe- "No honour in God's church ought to be taken whereunto a man is not called, as Aaron.

ri- "It is a great honour in God's church to sacrifice for sin:

son. "Ergo, No man ought to sacrifice for sin, but only they which are called.

"But only Christ is called to that honour:

"Ergo, No other priest but Christ ought to sacrifice for sin. That no man is called to this degree of honour but Christ alone, it is evident; for there are but two only orders of priesthood allowed in the word of God, namely, the order of Aaron, and the order of Melchizedek. But now the order of Aaron is come to an end, by reason that it was unprofitable and weak; and of the order of Melchizedek there is but one priest alone, even Christ the Lord, who hath a priesthood that cannot pass to any other."

Heb. vii.

Another Argument.

Ba- "That thing is in vain, and to no effect, where no necessity is wherefore it is done.

ro- "To offer up any more sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead there is no necessity, for Christ our Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all:

co. "Ergo, To do the same in the mass it is in vain."

Another Argument.

Fe- "After that eternal redemption is found and obtained. there needeth no more daily offering for the same. Heb. ix.

ri- "But Christ coming an high bishop, &c., found and obtained for us eternal redemption:

o. "Ergo, There needeth now no more daily oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead."

Ab una causa veritatis ad præpositionem habentem illam causam valet consequentia.

Another Argument.

Ca- "All remission of sins cometh only by shedding of blood.

mes- "In the mass there is no shedding of blood:

tres. "Ergo, In the mass there is no remission of sins: and so it followeth also, that there is no propitiatory sacrifice."

Another Argument.

"In the mass the passion of Christ is not in verity, but in a mystery representing the same: yea, even there where the Lord's supper is duly ministered.

"But where Christ suffereth not, there is he not offered in verity: for the Apostle saith, 'Not that he might offer Heb. ix. up himself oftentimes; for then must he have suffered oftentimes since the beginning of the world. Now, where Christ is not offered, there is no propitiatory sacrifice:

"Ergo, In the mass there is no propitiatory sacrifice: "For Christ appeared once, in the latter end of the world, to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall once die, and then cometh the judgment: even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear again without sin unto salvation."

Another Argument.

Da- "Where there is any sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more expiatory and propitiatory sacrifices.

ri- "But in the new testament there is one only sacrifice now already long since offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever:

i. "Ergo, In the new testament they ought to cease from offering any more propitiatory sacrifice."

(Sentences of the Scripture, alleged by Ridley, tending to the same end and purpose; out of which also may be gathered other manifest Arguments for more confirmation thereof.)

Heb. x. "'By the which will (saith the Apostle) we are sanctified, by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ once for all.' And in the same place, 'But this man, after that he had offered one sacrifice for sin, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God,' etc. 'For with one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified;' and, 'By himself hath he purged our sins.'

"I beseech you to mark these words 'by himself,' the which, well weighed, will without doubt cease all controversy. The Apostle plainly denieth any other sacrifice to remain for him, that treadeth under his feet the blood of the testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his death to be had in derision."

Col. i. "'He hath reconciled us in the body of his flesh.'

"Mark, I beseech you; he saith not, in the mystery of his body, but in the body of his flesh."

1 John ii. "'If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins; not for ours only, but for the sins of the whole world.'

The popish distinction between bloody and unbloody sacrifice. "I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtle shifts: the one is, by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody sacrifice, as though our unbloody

sacrifice of the church were any other than the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, than a commemoration, a shewing-forth and a sacramental representation of that one only bloody sacrifice, offered up once for all. The other is, by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient fathers unto such a strange kind of sense as the fathers themselves indeed never meant. For what the meaning of the fathers was, it is evident by that which St Augustine writeth in his epistle to Boniface, and in his book against Faustus the Manichee, besides many other places; likewise by Eusebius the Emissene, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Fulgentius, Bertram, and others, who do wholly concord and agree together in this unity in the Lord; that the redemption, once made in verity for the salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the world; that the sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; that the Lord's death and passion is as effectual, the virtue of that blood once shed as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour; and finally, that the whole substance of our sacrifice, which is frequented of the church in the Lord's supper, consisteth in prayers, praise, and giving of thanks, and in remembering and shewing forth of that sacrifice once offered upon the altar of the cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by mystery, which once only, and no more, was offered for the price of our redemption.

The papists maintain their sacrifice propitiatory, by the old doctors falsely wrested.

The whole substance of our sacrifice, wherein it consisteth.

"These are the things, right worshipful master prolocutor, and ye the rest of the commissioners, which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three aforesaid propositions, being destitute of all help in this shortness of time, sudden warning, and want of books: wherefore I appeal to my first protestation, most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel sentence against me, I do here appeal (so far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just censure and judgment of some other superior, competent, and lawful judge, and that according to the approved state of the church of England. Howbeit I confess, that I am ignorant what that is, at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the realm.

Ridley appealeth from the unjust sentence of his adversaries to some other superior, competent judge.

Ridley for lack of equal indifference appealeth to almighty God.

But if this appeal may not be granted to me upon earth, then do I fly (even as to my only refuge and alone haven of health) to the sentence of the eternal Judge, that is, of the almighty God; to whose most merciful justice towards us, and most just mercifulness, I do wholly commit myself and all my cause, nothing at all despairing of the defence of mine Advocate and alone Saviour Jesus Christ; to hom, with the everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all honour and glory. Amen."

Albeit this learned bishop was not suffered to read all that is above prefixed before the disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it up to the prolocutor after the disputations and sentence pronounced, I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the arguments and answers between Dr Smith and him[1].

Dr Smith beginneth to oppose.

Smith:—"You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me seemed you did, in your supposition, abuse the testimonies of Scripture concerning the ascension of Christ, to take away his presence in the sacrament; as though this were a strong argument to enforce your matter withal:

Argument.

"Christ did ascend into heaven: ergo, he is not in the sacrament.

"Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

"Christ's ascension is no let to his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground yourself upon those places."

Answer. The verity of Ridley's answer touching the real being of Christ in earth to be restrained by his ascension and his abiding there also.

Ridley:—"You import as though I had made a strong argument by Christ's going up into heaven. But howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only stay upon his ascension, but also upon his

[1] This passage is Fox's: for the place and manner in which the reading of Ridley's protest was stopped, see p. 189. Ed.]

Smith:—"Christ's going up to heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his real presence in the sacrament: ergo, you are deceived."

cending and abiding in heaven, standeth upon a necessity which we call "necessitas consequentiæ," by this demonstration; *Darii*. Every natural body must necessarily be contained in his peculiar and certain place. Christ's body is a natural body. Ergo, Christ's body not to be in one certain place at once contained, it is impossible, according to the rule, "Omnes propositiones de impossibili et de necesse æquipollent dicto dissimiliter se habenti, et modo similiter."

Ridley:—"Of Christ's real presence there may be a double understanding. If you take the real presence of Christ according to the real and corporal substance which he took of the Virgin, that presence being in heaven cannot be on the earth also. But if you mean a real presence, 'secundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Christi pertinet,' i.e. according to something that appertaineth to Christ's body, certes the ascension and abiding in heaven are no let at all to that presence. Wherefore Christ's body, after that sort, is here present to us in the Lord's supper; by grace I say, as Epiphanius speaketh it."

Weston:—"I will cut off from henceforth all equivocation and doubt: for whensoever we speak of Christ's body, we mean that which he took of the Virgin."

Ridley:—"Christ's ascension and abiding in heaven cannot stand with his presence."

Smith:—"Christ appeared corporally and really on the earth, for all his ascension and continual abode in heaven unto the day of doom: ergo, his ascension and abiding in heaven is no let to his real presence in the sacrament."

Ridley:—"Master doctor, this argument is nothing worth. I do not so straitly tie Christ up in heaven, that he may not come into the earth at his pleasure: for when he will, he may come down from heaven, and be on the earth, as it liketh himself. Howbeit I do affirm, that it is not possible for him to be both in heaven and earth at one time."

Smith:—"Mark diligently, I pray you, my masters that be here, what he answereth: First he saith, that the sitting of Christ at the right hand of his Father is a let to the real presence of his body in the sacrament; and then afterward he flieth from it again."

Ridley:—"I would not have you think that I do imagine or dream upon any such manner of sitting, as these men here sit in the school."

Smith:—"Ergo, It is lawful for Christ, then, to be here present on the earth, when he will himself."

Ridley:—"Yea, when he will, it is lawful indeed."

Smith:—"Ergo, He, ascending into heaven, doth not restrain his real presence in the sacrament."

Christ's abode in heaven is no let for him to appear on earth when he will: but whether he will, that must be proved. Again, it is one thing to appear on earth, another still in the sacrament, and to be present the same time with his body in heaven, when he is bodily present in earth.

Ridley:—"I do not gainsay, but that it is lawful for him to appear on the earth when he will: but prove you that he will."

Smith:—"Then your answer dependeth upon the will of Christ, I perceive: therefore I will join again with you in this short argument:

"Christ, albeit he doth alway abide in heaven after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual sitting at the right hand of his Father, he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley:—"If the notaries should so record your argument as you have framed it, you, peradventure, would be ashamed thereof hereafter."

Smith:—"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally upon the earth:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and abiding with his Father, he may be corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley:—"I grant the antecedent, but I deny the consequence."

Smith:—"Do you grant the antecedent?"

Ridley:—"Yea, I grant the antecedent. I am content to let you have so much: because I know that there be certain ancient fathers of that opinion. I am well content to let you use that proposition as true, and I will frame the argument for you.

"He was seen on earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Smith:—"Nay, nay, I will frame it myself.

"Christ, after his ascension, was seen really and corporally on earth, albeit he do abide in heaven continually:

"Ergo, Notwithstanding his ascension and continual abiding at the right hand of the Father, he may be really and corporally on the earth."

Ridley:—"Let us first agree about the continual sitting at the right hand of the Father."

Smith:—"Doth he so sit at the right hand of his Father, that he doth never forsake the same?"

Christ cannot be both corporally here, and

Ridley:—"Nay, I do not bind Christ in heaven so straitly. I see you go about to beguile me with your equivocations.

Such equivocations are to be distinguished. If you mean by his sitting in heaven, to reign with his Father, he may be both in heaven and also in earth. But if ye understand his sitting to be after a corporal manner of sitting, so is he always permanent in heaven. For Christ to be corporally here on earth, when corporally he is resident in heaven, is clean contrary to the holy Scriptures, as Augustinus saith[1]: 'The body of Christ is in heaven; but his truth is dispersed in every place.' Now, if continually he abide in heaven after the manner of his corporal presence, then his perpetual abiding there stoppeth or letteth that the same corporal presence of him cannot be in the sacrament."

corporally also in heaven at one time.

Augustinus in Johan. tract. xxx.

Smith:—"In Acts iii. we read, that Christ shall sit perpetually at the right hand of God unto the consummation of the world."

Weston:—"I perceive you are come here to this issue, whether the body of Christ may be together both in earth and in heaven. I will tell you that Christ, in very deed, is both in earth and in heaven together, and at one time, both one and the same natural Christ, after the verity and substance of his very body: ergo," &c.

Ridley:—"I deny the antecedent."

Weston:—"I prove it by two witnesses: First by Chrysostom[2]: 'Do we not offer every day? we do so indeed; but doing it for the remembrance of his death. And this offering

[1] "Corpus Christi est in cœlo, sed veritas ejus ubique diffusa est." [S. Aug. in Johan. Evan. tract. xxx. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iii. col. 517. The words of St Augustine are: "Corpus enim Domini, in quo resurrexit, uno loco esse potest; veritas," etc. Ed.]

[2] τί οὖν; ἡμεῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν οὐ προσφέρομεν; προσφέρομεν μὲν, ἀλλ' ἀνάμνησιν ποιούμενοι τοῦ θανάτου αὐτοῦ. καὶ μία ἐστὶν αὕτη, καὶ οὐ πολλαί· ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ προσηνέχθη, ὥσπερ ἐκείνη ἡ εἰς τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων. τοῦτο ἐκείνης τύπος ἐστὶ, καὶ αὕτη ἐκείνης. τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀεὶ προσφέρομεν, οὐ νῦν μὲν ἕτερον πρόβατον, αὔριον δὲ ἕτερον, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ τὸ αὐτό· ὥστε μία ἐστὶν ἡ θυσία, ἐπεὶ τῷ λόγῳ τούτῳ, ἐπειδὰν πολλαχοῦ προσφέρηται, καὶ πολλοὶ Χριστοί. ἀλλ' οὐδαμῶς· ἀλλ' εἷς πανταχοῦ ὁ Χριστὸς, καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλήρης ὢν καὶ ἐκεῖ πλήρης, ἓν σῶμα. S. Chrys. Hom. xvii. in Heb. cap. 10. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. tom. xii. pars i. pp. 168, 169. Weston's translation gives the sense of the passage, but is a very loose one. Ed.]

is one, and not many. And how is it one, and not many, which was once offered in the holy place? This sacrifice is a pattern of that: the selfsame we always offer; not now as offering one lamb to-day, and another to-morrow, but always one and the same lamb. Wherefore here is but one sacrifice; for else by this means, seeing there be many sacrifices in many places, be there many Christs. Not so, but one Christ in all places, both perfect here and perfect there, one only body.' Now thus I argue:

"We offer one thing at all times.

Argument. "There is one Christ in all places, both here complete, and there complete.

"Ergo, By Chrysostom, there is one body both in heaven and earth."

Answer. *Ridley:*—"I remember the place well. These things make nothing against me."

Weston:—"One Christ is in all places; here full and there full."

Ridley:—"One Christ is in all places; but not one body in all places."

Weston:—"One body, saith Chrysostom."

Answer to Chrysostom. *Ridley:*—"But not after the manner of bodily substance is he in all places, nor by circumscription of place. For 'hic' and 'illic,' 'here' and 'there,' in Chrysostom do assign no place; as Augustine saith[1], 'The Lord is above, but the truth of the Lord is in all places.'"

Weston:—"You cannot so escape. He saith not, the verity of Christ is one; but one Christ is in all places, both here and there."

Ridley:—"One sacrifice is in all places, because of the unity of him whom the sacrifice doth signify: not that the sacrifices be all one and the same."

Weston:—"Ergo, By your saying it is not Christ, but the sacrifice of Christ. But Chrysostom saith, 'One body and one Christ is there;' and not one sacrifice."

Sacrifice, why it is called one. *Ridley:*—"I say, that both Christ and the sacrifice of Christ are there: Christ by his spirit, grace, and verity; the

[1 "Sursum est Dominus, sed ubique est veritas Domini." S. Aug. in Johan. Evan. tract. xxx. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iii. col. 517. The words of St Augustine are: "sed etiam hic est veritas," etc. Ed.]

sacrifice by signification. Thus I grant with Chrysostom, that there is one host or sacrifice, and not many. And this our host is called one, by reason of the unity of that one, which one only all our hosts do represent. That only host was never other but that which was once offered on the altar of the cross, of which host all our hosts are but sacramental examples. Out of Ridley's own writing.

"And whereas you allege out of Chrysostom, that Christ is offered in many places at once (both here full Christ, and there full Christ), I grant it to be true; that is, that Christ is offered in many places at once, in a mystery and sacramentally, and that he is full Christ in all those places; but not after the corporal substance of our flesh which he took, but after the benediction which giveth life; and he is given to the godly receivers in bread and wine, as Cyril speaketh. Concerning the oblation of Christ, whereof Chrysostom here speaketh, he himself doth clearly shew what he meaneth thereby, in saying by the way of correction, 'We always do the selfsame, howbeit by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice.'" How one Christ is offered in many places at once.

Weston:—"The second witness is Bernard, in a sermon that he made of the supper of the Lord, who saith[2]: 'How cometh this to us, most gentle Jesus, that we, silly worms, creeping on the face of the earth, that we, I say, which are but dust and ashes, may deserve to have thee present in our hands and before our eyes, who, both together, full and whole, dost sit at the right hand of the Father; and who also, in the moment of one hour, from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same, art present, one and the selfsame, in many and divers places?'" Bernard.

Ridley:—"These words of Bernard make for you nothing at all. But I know that Bernard was in such a time, that in this matter he may worthily be suspected. He hath many good and fruitful sayings; as also in the same aforesaid place by The time of Bernard.

[2 "Unde hoc nobis, piissime Jesu, ut nos vermiculi, reptantes super faciem terræ, nos, inquam, qui pulvis et cinis sumus, te præsentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus et integer sedes ad dextram Patris, qui etiam unius horæ momento, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, ab aquilone usque ad austrum, præsto es unus in multis, idem in diversis locis?" S. Bernard. Op. Ed. Par. 1609, p. 1678. Ed.]

you alleged: but yet he followed in an age, when the doctrine of the holy supper was sore perverted. Notwithstanding yet I will so expound him, rather than reject him, that he shall make nothing for you at all. He saith, that we have Christ in a mystery, in a sacrament, under a veil or cover; but hereafter shall have him without veil or cover. In the mean time here now he saith, that the verity of Christ is everywhere: the verity of Christ is both here and there, and in all places."

Bernard rather expounded than rejected.

Weston:—"What do you call verity? He saith not the verity of Christ, but the verity of the body of Christ."

Ridley:—"The verity of the body of Christ is the true faith of the body of Christ: after that verity he is with them which truly believe upon him."

The verity of the body of Christ.

Weston:—"Christ is one and the same in divers places. I urge these words 'in diversis locis,' 'in divers places;' and yet I am not satisfied."

Smith:—"Christ was seen really and corporally on the earth after his ascension, and continually sitting at the right hand of the Father: ergo, the ascension and perpetual sitting in heaven hinder nothing, but that he may be really and corporally in the sacrament."

Ridley:—"If by perpetual sitting you mean the residence of his body in heaven, your reason containeth manifest contradiction."

Smith:—"These two have no contradiction in them at all, both to sit continually at his Father's right hand, and also to be seen here really in earth after his ascension. First, you will give me, that Christ sitteth in heaven at the right hand of his Father: for so it is written, 'Heaven must needs receive him, unto the time of the restoring of all,' &c. Secondly, he was also seen of Paul here corporally on earth. Wherefore these two do import, as ye see, no contradiction."

Acts iii.

Ridley:—"What letteth but that Christ, if it please him, and when it pleaseth him, may be in heaven and in earth, and appear to whom he will? and yet, notwithstanding, you have not yet proved that he will so do. And though Christ continually shall be resident in heaven unto the judgment, yet there may be some intermission, that notwithstanding. But this controversy, as I said, is amongst all the ancient doctors and writers. And that Christ hath been here seen,

To be here and not here importeth contradiction in respect of sundry times.

that they grant all: but whether then he being in earth or in heaven, that is doubtful."

Smith:—"I will prove that he would appear in earth. He so would, and also did appear here in earth after his ascension: ergo," &c.

Ridley:—"He appeared, I grant; but how he appeared, whether then being in heaven or in earth, that is uncertain. So he appeared to Stephen, being then corporally sitting in heaven. For, speaking after the true manner of man's body, when he is in heaven, he is not the same time in earth; and when he is in earth, he is not the same time corporally in heaven."

Smith:—"Christ hath been both in heaven and in earth all at one time: ergo, you are deceived in denying that."

Ridley:—"I do not utterly deny Christ here to have been seen in earth. Of uncertain things I speak uncertainly."

Smith:—"He was seen of Paul, as being born before his time, after his ascending up to heaven. 1 Cor. xv.

"But his vision was a corporal vision:

"Ergo, He was seen corporally upon the earth after his ascending into heaven." This argument holdeth rather "materia" than "ratione formæ."

Ridley:—"He was seen really and corporally indeed: but whether being in heaven or earth, is a doubt: and of doubtful things we must judge doubtfully. Howbeit you must prove, that he was in heaven at the same time when he was corporally on earth."

Smith:—"I would know of you, whether this vision may enforce the resurrection of Christ."

Ridley:—"I account this a sound and firm argument to prove the resurrection. But whether they saw him in heaven or in earth, I am in doubt: and to say the truth, it maketh no great matter. Both ways the argument is of like strength: for whether he were seen in heaven, or whether he were seen on earth, either of both maketh sufficiently for the matter. Certain it is, he rose again: for he could not have been seen, unless he had risen again." Whether Paul saw Christ in heaven or in earth; all is one to prove his resurrection. Petitio principii.

Smith:—"Paul saw him as he was here conversant on earth, and not out of heaven, as you affirm."

Ridley:—"You run to the beginning again: that you take for granted, which you should have proved."

Smith:—"You make delays for the nonce."

Ridley:—"Say not so, I pray you. Those that hear us be learned: they can tell both what you oppose, and what I answer, well enough, I warrant you."

Argument. *Tresham*:—"He was seen after such sort, as that he might be heard: ergo, he was corporally on the earth; or else how could he be heard?"

Answer. *Ridley*:—"He that found the means for Stephen to behold him in heaven, even he could bring to pass well enough, that Paul might hear him out of heaven."

Argument. *Da-* *Smith*:—"As others saw him, so Paul saw him."

ti- "Other did see him visibly and corporally on earth:

si. "Ergo, Paul saw him visibly and corporally on earth."

Answer. *Ridley*:—"I grant he was seen visibly and corporally: but yet have you not proved that he was seen in earth."

Smith:—"He was seen of him as of others.

"But he was seen of others being on earth, and appeared visibly to them on earth:

"Ergo, He was seen of Paul on earth."

Ridley:—"Your controversy is about 'existens in terra,' that is, being on earth. If 'existere,' 'to be,' be referred as unto the place, I deny that Christ after that sort was on earth. But if it be referred as to the verity of the body, then I grant it. Moreover I say, that Christ was seen of men in earth after his ascension, it is certain: for he was seen of Stephen; he was seen also of Paul. But whether he descended unto the earth, or whether he, being in heaven, did reveal or manifest himself to Paul, when Paul was rapt into the third heaven, I know that some contend about it: and the Scripture, as far as I have read or heard, doth not determine it. Wherefore we cannot but judge uncertainly of those things which be uncertain."

Lib. iii. cap. 3. *Smith*:—"We have Hegesippus and Linus against you[1], which testify, that Christ appeared corporally on the earth

[1 Hegesippus, who was born in the beginning of the second century, was the author of the first ecclesiastical history, a work which now unhappily has perished, save a few fragments preserved chiefly by Eusebius. St Jerome speaks of it in high terms. The writings attributed to Linus, who is mentioned by St Paul, are spurious, see Cave, Hist. Lit. vol. i. pp. 27. 73. Ed.]

to Peter after his ascension. Peter, overcome with the requests and mournings of the people, which desired him to get him out of the city because of Nero his lying in wait for him, began without company to convey himself away from thence: and when he was come to the gate, he seeth Christ come to meet him, and worshipping him he said, 'Master, whither walk you?' Christ answered, 'I am come again to be crucified.' Linus, writing of the passion of Peter, hath the selfsame story. St Ambrose hath the same likewise, and also Abdias, scholar to the apostles, which saw Christ before his ascending into heaven. With what face, therefore, dare you affirm it to be a thing uncertain, which these men do manifestly witness to have been done?"

Linus.

Ambrosius. Abdias.

Ridley:—"I said before, that the doctors in that matter did vary."

Smith:—"Do you think this story is not certain, being approved by so ancient and probable authority?"

Ridley:—"I do so think, because I take and esteem not their words for the words of Scripture. And though I did grant you that story to be certain, yet it maketh not against me."

Smith:—"Such things as be certain, and approved of them, you do reject as things uncertain."

Ridley:—"The story of Linus is not of so great authority; although I am not ignorant that Eusebius so writeth also, in the Story of the Church. And yet I account not these men's reports so sure as the canonical Scriptures. Albeit, if at any time he had to any man appeared here on the earth after his ascension, that doth not disprove my saying. For I go not about to tie Christ up in fetters (as some do untruly report of us); but that he may be seen upon the earth according to his divine pleasure, whensoever it liketh him. But we affirm, that it is contrary to the nature of his manhood, and the true manner of his body, that he should be together and at one instant both in heaven and earth, according to his corporal substance. And the perpetual sitting at the right hand of the Father may, I grant, be taken for the stability of Christ's kingdom, and his continual or everlasting equality with his Father in the glory of heaven."

The credit of Linus's story.

This addition is taken out of the copy of Ridley's own writing.

Chrysostom.

Smith:—"Now, whereas you boast that your faith is the very faith of the ancient church, I will shew here that it is not so, but that it doth directly strive against the faith of the old fathers: I will bring in Chrysostom for this point[1]. 'Eliseus received the mantle, as a right great inheritance: for it was indeed a right excellent inheritance, and more precious than any gold beside. And the same was a double Elias: he was both Elias above, and Elias beneath. I know well you think that just man to be happy, and you would gladly be, every one of you, as he is. What will you then say, if I shall declare unto you a certain other thing, which all we that are endued with these holy mysteries do receive much more than that? Elias indeed left his mantle to his scholar: but the son of God ascending did leave here his flesh unto us. Elias left it, putting off the same: but Christ both left it to us, and ascended also to heaven, having it with him.'"

Here, at this answer, great cartfulls of taunting, spiteful, and reproachful words were cast upon this good bishop.

Ridley:—"I grant that Christ did both; that is, both took up his flesh with him ascending up, and also did leave the same behind him with us, but after a diverse manner and respect. For he took his flesh with him, after the true and corporal substance of his body and flesh: again, he left the same in mystery to the faithful in the supper, to be received after a spiritual communication, and by grace. Neither is the same received in the supper only, but also at other times, by hearing the gospel, and by faith. For the 'bread,' which we break, is the communication of the body of Christ: and generally, 'Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you.'"

[1 Ἐδέξατο καθάπερ μεγίστην κληρονομίαν τὴν μηλωτὴν ὁ Ἐλισαῖος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἀληθῶς μεγίστη κληρονομία παντὸς χρυσίου τιμιωτέρα. καὶ ἦν διπλοῦς Ἠλίας ἐκεῖνος. καὶ ἦν ἄνω Ἠλίας, καὶ κάτω Ἠλίας. οἶδα, ὅτι μακαρίζετε τὸν δίκαιον ἐκεῖνον, καὶ ἐβούλεσθε αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἐκεῖνος εἶναι· τί οὖν ἂν ὑμῖν ὑποδείξω ὅτι ἕτερόν τι πολλῷ μεῖζον ἐκείνου πάντες ἐλάβομεν οἱ μεμυσταγωγημένοι; ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἠλίας μηλωτὴν ἀφῆκε τῷ μαθητῇ, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀναβαίνων τὴν σάρκα ἡμῖν κατέλιπε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἠλίας ἀποδυσάμενος, ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς καὶ ἡμῖν κατέλιπε, καὶ ἔχων αὐτὴν ἀνῆλθε. S. Chrysostomi, Hom. II. in Antioch. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1718, tom. ii. p. 34. Ed.]

Smith:—"Chrysostom saith[2]: 'O miracle, O good will of God! He that sitteth above, at the sacrifice time is contained in the hands of men.' Or else, as others have translated it, thus: 'O miracle, O the gentleness of God! he that sitteth above with the Father, is handled with the hands of all men at the very same moment of time, and doth himself deliver himself to them that are desirous to take him and embrace him.'"

Ridley:—"He that sitteth there, is *here* present in mystery, and by grace; and is holden of the godly, such as communicate him, not only sacramentally with the hand of the body, but much more wholesomely with the hand of the heart, and by inward drinking is received: but by the sacramental signification he is holden of all men."

Seton:—"Where is then the miracle, if he be only present through his grace and mystery only?"

Ridley:—"Yes, there is a miracle, good sir: Christ is not idle in his sacraments. Is not the miracle great, trow you, when bread, which is wont to sustain the body, becometh food to the soul? He that understandeth not that miracle, he understandeth not the force of that mystery. God grant we may every one of us understand his truth, and obey the same." The miracle in the sacrament, wherein.

Smith:—"Chrysostom calleth it a miracle, that Christ sitteth at the right hand of God in heaven, and at the same time is held in the hands of men.—Not that he is handled with the hands of men—only in a mystery, and is with them through grace. Therefore while you deny that, you are altogether deceived, and stray far from the truth."

Harpsfield:—"The former place of Chrysostom is not to be let slip. Let me, before I begin, ask this one question of you. Is it not a great matter that Elias left his cloak or mantle, and the gift of his prophecy to his scholar?"

Ridley:—"Yes, surely; it is a great matter."

Harpsfield:—"Did not Elias then leave great grace?"

[2 Ὦ τοῦ θαύματος· Ὦ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίας· ὁ μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἄνω καθήμενος κατὰ τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην ταῖς ἁπάντων κατέχεται χερσὶ, καὶ δίδωσιν αὑτὸν τοῖς βουλομένοις περιπτύξασθαι καὶ περιλαβεῖν. S. Chrys. de Sacerdotio, lib. III. cap. 4. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1718, tom. i. p. 382. Ed.]

Ridley:—"He did so."

Harpsfield:—"But Christ left a far greater grace than Elias: for he could not both leave his cloak and take it with him; Christ doth both in his flesh."

How Christ took up his body, and left it with us. The phrase of Chrysostom considered.

Ridley:—"I am well content to grant, that Christ left much greater things to us than Elias to Eliseus, albeit he be said to have left his double spirit with him; for that the strength and grace of the body of Christ, which Christ ascending up here left with us, is the only salvation and life of all men which shall be saved: which life Christ hath here left unto us, to be received by faith through the hearing of the word, and the right administration of the sacraments. This virtue and grace Chrysostom, after the phrase and manner of John the evangelist, calleth Christ's flesh."

Comparison between Elias's mantle and Christ's flesh: Elias took his mantle, and left neither mantle nor sacrament of his mantle behind him. Christ took his flesh, and left a sacrament of his flesh, which was more than Elias did: and yet the said Elias afterward cast down his mantle.

Harpsfield:—"But Christ performed a greater matter. He carried up, and left behind. You understand not the comparison. The comparison is in this, That Elias left his mantle, and carried it not with him: Christ left his flesh behind him, and carried it with him also."

Ridley:—"True it is, and I myself did affirm no less before. Now, where you seem to speak many things, indeed you bring no new things at all. Let there be a comparison between grace and grace; then Christ gave the far greater grace, when he did insert or graft us into his flesh."

Harpsfield:—"If you will give me leave, I will ask you this question: If Chrysostom would have meant so, that Christ left his body in the eucharist, what plainer words think you, or more evident could he have used than these?"

Ridley:—"These things be not of so great force as they bear a great shew outwardly. He might also have used grosser words, if he had listed to have uttered his mind so grossly: for he was an eloquent man. Now he speaketh after the manner of other doctors, which of mystical matters speak mystically, and of sacraments sacramentally."

Harpsfield:—"The comparison lieth in this: That which was impossible to Elias, is possible with Christ."

Ridley:—"I grant it was possible to Christ, which was to the other impossible. Elias left his cloak: Christ both left his flesh and took it with him."

Harpsfield:—"Elias left behind him, and could not take with him: Christ both left behind him, and also took with him: except you will say the comparison here made to be nothing."

Ridley:—"He took up his flesh with him to heaven, and left here the communion of his flesh in earth." Harpsfield answered.

Weston:—"You understand in the first place his flesh for very true flesh; and in the second place for grace, and communion of his flesh; and why do you not understand it in the second place also, for his true flesh? I will make it evident how blockish and gross your answer is." "Quam sit stupida et crassa responsio tua."

Ridley:—"These be taunts and reproaches not beseeming, as I think, the modesty of this school."

Weston:—"Elias left his cloak to his disciple; but the Son of God, going up to heaven, left his flesh. But Elias certainly left his cloak behind, and Christ likewise his flesh; and yet, ascending, he carried the same with him too. By which words we make this reason:

"Christ left his flesh to his disciples, and yet, for all that, he took the same up with him:

"Ergo, He is present here with us."

Here Dr Weston, crying to the people, said unto them, "Master doctor answereth it after this fashion: 'He carried his flesh into heaven, and he left here the communion of his flesh behind.' Assuredly the answer is too unlearned." Weston speaketh in English.

Ridley:—"I am glad you speak in English. Surely, I wish that all the whole world might understand your reasons and my answers. He left us his flesh. This you understand of his flesh, and I understand the same of grace. He carried his flesh into heaven, and left behind the communion of his flesh unto us." "Reliquit nobis carnem suam."

Weston:—"Ye judges, what think ye of this answer?"

Judges:—"It is ridiculous, and a very fond answer."

Ridley:—"Well, I take your words patiently, for Christ's cause."

Weston here citeth a place: "We are sprinkled with the blood of Christ." "Spargimur sanguine Christi."

Ridley:—"Master doctor, it is the same blood, but yet spiritually received. And indeed all the prophets were sprinkled How we are sprinkled with Christ's blood.

with the same blood, but yet spiritually, I say, and by grace. And whatsoever they be that are not sprinkled with this blood, they cannot be partakers of the everlasting salvation."

This he repeated in English to the people also.

Weston:—"Here I bring Bernard unto you again[1]: 'Even from the west unto the east, from the north unto the south, there is one and the selfsame Christ in many and divers places.'"

Answer to Bernard.

Ridley:—"The answer is soon made, that one Christ is here and in divers places: for God, according to his majesty, and according to his providence, as St Augustine saith, is everywhere with the godly, according to his indivisible and unspeakable grace. Or else, if ye should understand Bernard according to the corporal presence, how monstrous, or huge and giant-like a body would you then make Christ's body to be, which should reach even from north to south, from west to east."

Weston:—"Nay, nay, you make a monstrous answer, and unlearned."

Ridley falsely charged to set forth the catechism. Here they returned again to Latin.

Ward:—"Before I come in with those reasons which I had purposed to bring against you, I am minded to come again to Master doctor's argument, by which you, being brought into the briars, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else, than that which was agreed upon in the catechism[2] of the synod of London, set out not long ago by you,"

Ridley:—"Sir, I give you to wit, before you go any further, that I did set out no catechism."

Weston, in king Edward's days, subscribed.

Weston:—"Yes, you made me subscribe to it, when you were a bishop in your ruff."

Ridley:—"I compelled no man to subscribe."

Ward:—"Yes, by the rood, you are the very author of that heresy."

[1 See p. 216, note. Ed.]

[2 The catechism here referred to is the Catechism of King Edward VI. published by Royal Authority both in Latin and English in A. D. 1553, and which was revised and approved by convocation. Fox, in his side note, "of this catechism read before," refers to the conference with Secretary Bourne, where he (Fox) speaks of the Catechism, but erroneously. Ed.]

Ridley:—"I put forth no catechism."

Cole:—"Did you never consent to the setting out of those things which you allowed?"

Ridley:—"I grant that I saw the book; but I deny that I wrote it. I perused it after it was made, and I noted many things for it: so I consented to the book. I was not the author of it." Of this catechism read before.

Judges:—"The catechism is so set forth, as though the whole convocation-house had agreed to it. Cranmer said yesterday, that you made it." The judges give an untrue verdict: for Dr Cranmer, meaning by the council, spake no word of Ridley.

Ridley:—"I think surely, that he would not say so."

Ward:—"The catechism hath this clause: 'Si visibiliter et in terra.' 'If visibly and on the earth.'"

Ridley:—"I answer, that those articles were set out, I both writing and consenting to them. Mine own hand will testify the same, and Master Cranmer put his hand to them likewise, and gave them to others afterward. Now, as for the place which you allege out of it, that may easily be expounded, and without any inconvenience."

Ward:—"Christ is the power and the virtue of his Father: ergo, he was not of so little strength, that he could not bring to pass whatsoever he would himself." A possibili ad esse, non valet consequentia.

Ridley:—"I grant."

Ward:—"Christ was the wisdom of the Father: ergo, that he spake, he spake wisely, and so as every man might understand; neither was it his mind to speak one thing instead of another."

Ridley:—"All this I grant."

Ward:—"Christ was likewise the very truth: ergo, he made and performed indeed that which he intended to make. And likely it is, that he doth neither deceive, nor could be deceived, nor yet would go about to deceive others." Argument of the wisdom and truth of Christ.

Weston:—"Hilary on Psal. cxviii. hath these words[3]: 'All God's words or sayings are true, and neither idly placed nor unprofitably, but fiery, and wonderful fiery, without all S. Hil. in Psal. cxviii.

[3] "Vera omnia sunt, et neque otiose neque inutiliter constituta Dei verba, sed extra omnem ambiguitatem superfluæ inanitatis, ignita, et ignita vehementer, ne quid illic esse, quod non perfectum ac proprium sit, existimetur." [S. Hilar. in Psal. cxviii. (hodie Psal. cxix.) Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1693, col. 350. Ed.]

doubtfulness of superfluous vanity; that there may be nothing thought to be there, which is not absolute and proper."

Ward:—"He is the truth of the Father: ergo, he can neither deceive, nor yet be deceived; especially, I mean, when he spake at his latter end, and made his testament."

Answer to Ward's argument.

Ridley:—"Christ is the very truth of the Father; and I perceive well to what scope you drive your reason. This is but a far-fetched compass of words. If that these words of Christ, 'This is my body,' which you mean, be rightly understood, they are most true."

Ward:—"He took, he brake, he gave. &c. What took he?"

Ridley:—"Bread: his body."

Ward:—"What brake he?"

Ridley:—"Bread."

Ward:—"What gave he?"

Ridley:—"Bread."

Ward:—"Gave he bread made of wheat, and material bread?"

Ridley:—"I know not whether he gave bread of wheat; but he gave true and material bread."

Ward:—"I will prove the contrary by Scriptures.

"He delivered to them that which he bade them take.

"But he bade not them take material bread, but his own body:

This argument is not formal in the second figure. Answer.

"Ergo, He gave not material bread, but his own body."

Ridley:—"I deny the minor. For he bade them take his body sacramentally in material bread: and after that sort it was both bread which he bade them take, because the substance was bread, and that it was also his body, because it was the sacrament of his body, for the sanctifying and the coming of the Holy Ghost, which is always assistant to those mysteries which were instituted of Christ, and lawfully administered[1]."

[1 Εἰπὼν δὲ, Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα, δεικνύει ὅτι αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Κυρίου ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ἁγιαζόμενος ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ, καὶ οὐχὶ ἀντίτυπον· οὐ γὰρ εἶπε, Τοῦτό ἐστιν ἀντίτυπον, ἀλλὰ Τοῦτό μου ἐστὶ τὸ σῶμα· ἀῤῥήτῳ γὰρ ἐνεργείᾳ μεταποιεῖται, κἂν φαίνηται ἡμῖν ἄρτος· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀσθενεῖς ἐσμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐδεξάμεθα κρέας ἐσθίειν ὠμὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπου σάρκα, διὰ τοῦτο ἄρτος μὲν ἡμῖν φαίνεται, σάρξ δὲ τῷ ὄντι ἐστί. Theoph. in Matth. cap. xxvi. Ed. Morelli. Paris, p. 162. Ed.]

Harpsfield:—"What is he that so saith, 'By the coming unto of the Holy Spirit?'"

Ridley:—"I have Theophylact for mine author for this manner of speaking. And here I bring him, that ye may understand that phrase not to be mine, upon Matthew xxvi. Furthermore the said Theophylact, writing upon these words, 'This is my body,' sheweth, that the body of the Lord is bread, which is sanctified on the altar."

Oglethorpe:—"That place of Theophylact maketh openly against you: for he saith in that place, that Christ said not, 'This is the figure of my body, but my body.' 'For,' saith he, 'by an unspeakable operation it is transformed, although it seem to us to be bread.'"

Ridley:—"It is not a figure; that is to say, 'Non tantum est figura;' i.e. It is not only a figure of his body." The words of Theophylact (who said not this is a figure of my body) answered.

Weston:—"Where have you that word 'tantum,' 'only?'"

Ridley:—"It is not in that place, but he hath it in another; and Agustine doth so speak many times, and other doctors more."

Here Weston repeating the words of Theophylact in English, said, "He saith, it is no figure, and you say, it *is* a figure." And the same Theophylact saith moreover, that the converting or turning of the bread is made into the Lord's flesh.

That which Christ gave, we do give.

But that which he gave was not a figure of his body, but his body.

Ergo, We give no figure, but his body[2]. This argument is without perfect mood and form, having the minor negative in the second figure.

Ridley:—"I grant," quoth he, "the bread to be converted and turned into the flesh of Christ; but not by transubstanti- Conversion after what sort in the sacrament.

[2] Fox has the following note on this passage: "As concerning the authority of Theophylactus, what he thought and might have spoken of that author, Dr Ridley did not then speak, nor could conveniently (as he himself afterwards declared, reporting and writing with his own hand the disputations in the prison,) because of the uproars and clamours, which were so great, and he of so many called upon, that he could not answer as he would, and what he thought touching the authority of Theophylactus, but answered simply to that which is brought out of that author on this sort." Ed.]

ation, but by sacramental converting or turning. 'It is transformed,' saith Theophylact in the same place, 'by a mystical benediction, and by the accession or coming of the Holy Ghost unto the flesh of Christ.' He saith not, by expulsion or driving away the substance of bread, and by substituting or putting in its place the corporal substance of Christ's flesh [1]. And whereas he saith, 'It is not a figure of the body,' we should understand that saying, as he himself doth elsewhere add 'only,' that is, it is no naked or bare figure *only*. For Christ is present in his mysteries; neither at any time, as Cyprian saith, doth the Divine Majesty absent himself from the divine mysteries."

Weston:—"You put in 'only,' and that is one lie. And I tell you further: Peter Martyr was fain to deny the author, because the place was so plain against him. But mark his words, how he saith, 'It is no figure, but his flesh.'"

Ridley:—"To take his words, and not his meaning, is to do injury to the author."

This Harding sat at the table among the notaries.

Harding:—"No other doctor maketh more against you. For the word in Greek is μεταστοιχειοῦται; which is in Latin 'trans-elementatur,' that is, turned from one element into another. And shewing the cause why it is in form of bread, he saith, 'Because we are infirm, and abhor to eat the raw flesh, especially the flesh of man; therefore it appeareth bread, but it is flesh.'"

The word μεταστοιχειοῦσθαι. Theophylact expounded.

Ridley:—"That word hath not that strength which you seem to give it. You strain it overmuch, and yet it maketh not so much for your purpose. For the same author hath in another place, ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχειούμεθα, that is, 'We are trans-elemented, or transformed and changed, into the body of Christ:' and so by that word, in such meaning as you speak of, I could prove as well that we are transformed indeed into the very body of Christ."

[1 Ὁ ἄρτος, ὁ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἐσθιόμενος, οὐχὶ ἀντίτυπον τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου σαρκὸς, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ ἡ τοῦ Κυρίου σάρξ· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν, ὅτι Ὁ ἄρτος ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἀντίτυπον ἐστὶ τῆς σαρκός μου, ἀλλ' Ἡ σάρξ μου ἐστί· μεταποιεῖται γὰρ ἀπορρήτοις λόγοις ὁ ἄρτος αὐτὸς, διὰ τῆς μυστικῆς εὐλογίας καὶ ἐπιφοιτήσεως τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος εἰς σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου. Theophylact, in Evan. Johan. cap. vi. Ed. Morelli, Paris 1631, p. 651—2. Ed.]

Ward:—"Learned master doctor, thus you expound the place, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' i.e. 'This is my body,' that is, a figure of my body."

Ridley:—"Although I know there be that so expound it, yet that exposition is not full to express the whole."

Argument in the third figure.

Dati-si.

Ward:—"My sheep hear my voice, and follow me.

"But all the sheep of Christ hear his voice, 'This is my body,' without a figure:

"Ergo, The voice of Christ here hath no figure."

Ridley:—"The sheep of Christ follow the voice of Christ, unless they be seduced and deceived through ignorance."

Ward:—"But the fathers took this place for no figurative speech."

Ridley:—"Yet they do all number this place among figurative and tropical speeches."

Justin Martyr.

Ward:—"Justin Martyr, in his second Apology[2], hath thus: *οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον οὐδὲ κοινὸν πόμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν· ἀλλ' ὃν τρόπον διὰ λόγου θεοῦ σαρκοποιηθεὶς Ἰησοῦς, ὁ σωτὴρ ἡμῶν, καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν ἔσχεν, οὕτως καὶ τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγου τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφὴν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαρκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι.*"

"'Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus: imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster, incarnatus habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem; ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti.'

"This place Cranmer hath corrupted. Thus it is Englished: 'For we do not take this for common bread and drink; but like as Jesus Christ our Saviour, incarnate by the word of God, had flesh and blood for our salvation; even so we be taught the food wherewith our flesh and blood is nourished by alteration, when it is consecrated by the prayer of his word, to be the flesh and blood of the same Jesus incarnate.'

Cranmer charged with mistranslating a place of Justin.

"Dr Cranmer hath thus translated it: 'Bread, water, and wine, are not to be taken as other common meats and drinks

[2] In modern editions, Apolog. i. § 66, p. 85. Venetiis, 1747. Ed.]

be, but they be ordained purposely to give thanks to God, and therefore be called Eucharistia, and be called the body and blood of Christ: and that it is lawful for none to eat and drink of them, but such as profess Christ, and live according to the same; and yet the same meat and drink is changed into our flesh and blood, and nourisheth our bodies.'"

Ridley:—"O good master doctor, go sincerely to work: I know that place, and I know how it is used."

Ward here repeated the place again out of Justin, 'We are taught,' &c. as above.

Sumptum ex exemplari Domini Ridlei descripto.

Ridley:—"O what unright dealing is this! I have the selfsame place of Justin here copied out. You know yourself, who are skilful in Greek, how the words here be removed out of the right place; and that without any just cause."

Ward:—"I stand still upon mine argument. What say you?"

Ridley:—"If you will, that I should answer to Justin, then you must hear. I have but one tongue, I cannot answer at once to you all."

Weston:—"Christ gave us his very and true flesh to be eaten:

"But he never gave it to be eaten but in his last supper, and in the sacrament of the altar:

In this argument if the minor be a negative, the form is false: if it be affirmative, æquipollenter, the major is to be denied.

"Ergo, There is the very true flesh of Christ."

Ridley:—"If you speak of the very true flesh of Christ, after the substance of his flesh taken in the womb of the Virgin Mary, and not by grace and spiritually, I then do deny the first part of your reason. But if you understand it of the true flesh, after grace and spiritual communication, I then grant the first part, and deny the second. For he giveth unto us truly his flesh, to be eaten of all that believe in him: for he is the very and true meat of the soul, wherewith we are fed unto everlasting life, according to his saying, 'My flesh is meat indeed,' &c."

"Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum."

Ward:[1]—"'I have desired with my hearty desire to eat

[1 "Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupiscere edere pascha ut suum (indignum enim ut alienum concupisceret Deus) acceptum panem et distributum discipulis corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, etc." Tertul. contra Marcion. lib. iv. cap. 40. Op. Ed. Rigalt. Par. 1641, p. 571. Ed.]

this paschal with you.' What paschal, I pray you, desired he to eat? If you stand in doubt, you have Tertullian against Marcion: He, therefore, protesting a great desire to eat his paschal (his own paschal I say, for it was not meet that he should desire any other than his own), taking bread and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, 'This is my body.' What say you? Did he understand by this paschal the Judaical lamb, or by that which afterwards he gave in his supper?"

Ridley:—"I suppose that the first he understood of the Judaical passover, and afterward of the eucharist."

Ward:—"Nay then Tertullian is against you, who saith: Argument.

Ba- 'He desired to eat his passover.

ro- 'But the Judaical passover was not his, but strange from Christ:

co. 'Ergo, He meant not of the Judaical passover.'"

Ridley:—"The Judaical passover was not strange from Christ, but his own; insomuch as he is the Lord of all, and as well the Lord of the Judaical passover, as of his own supper." Answer.

Ward:—"What answer you then to Tertullian, who saith, 'He desired to eat his own passover,' and not the Jewish passover, which stood upon words without flesh?"

Ridley:—"Tertullian may here dally in sense analogical. I know that Cyprian hath these words[2]: 'He began then to institute the holy eucharist, but both were Christ's.'" Analogical sense is that which hath a high and mystical understanding, that lieth abstruse and profound under the external letter."

Ward:—"Augustine on Psalm xcvi., writing upon these words, 'Adorate scabellum pedum ejus;' i. e. 'Worship his footstool,' &c.[3] 'I ask,' saith he, 'what is the footstool of

[2] "Tunc instituit quidem eucharistiam, sed utrumque erat Christi."

[3] "Quæro, inquit, quid sit scabellum pedum ejus? Et dicit mihi Scriptura, Terra scabellum pedum meorum. Fluctuans converto me ad Christum, quia ipsum quæro hic, et invenio quomodo sine impietate adoretur scabellum pedum ejus. Suscepit enim de terra terram, quia caro de terra est, et de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit. Inventum est quomodo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoretur, ut non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando ipsum," etc. S. August. in Psal. xcviii. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. iv. col. 1694—5. Ed.]

his feet; and the Scripture telleth me, The earth is the footstool of my feet. And so, in searching thereof, I turn myself to Christ, because I seek him here in the earth, and find how, without impiety, the footstool of his feet may be worshipped. For he took earth of earth, in that he is flesh of the earth, and of the flesh of Mary he took flesh, and because that in the same flesh here he walked; and also he gave the same flesh to us, to be eaten unto salvation. But no man eateth that flesh except he have worshipped before. And so it is found, how such a footstool of the feet of the Lord is to be worshipped, so that not only we sin not in worshipping, but also do sin in not worshipping the same."

Da- "He gave to us his flesh to be eaten, the which he took of the earth, in which also here he walked, &c.

ti- "But he never gave his flesh to be eaten, but when he gave it at his supper, saying, 'This is my body:'

si- "Ergo, In the eucharist he gave us his flesh."

If the minor of this argument (as is said before) be equipollent to affirmative, then it cometh next to the mood *Datisi*. How Christ gave his flesh to be eaten, and when.

Ridley:—"You do allege the place of Augustine upon Psalm xcviii., where he saith, that Christ gave his flesh to be eaten which he took of the earth, and in which here he walked; inferring hereupon that Christ never gave the same his flesh to be eaten, but only in the eucharist: I deny your minor; for he gave it both in the eucharist to be eaten, and also otherwise, as well in the word, as also upon the cross."

Smith:—"What if Augustine say, that Christ did not only give himself to us in a figure, but gave his own very flesh indeed and really?"

Ridley:—"I never said that Christ gave only a figure of his body; for indeed he gave himself in a real communication, that is, he gave his flesh after a communication of his flesh."

(Here Weston read the place of Augustine in English, and afterward said, "Ye say Christ gave not his body, but a figure of his body.")

Ridley:—"I say not so: I say, he gave his own body verily; but he gave it by a real, effectual, and spiritual communication."

Dr Glyn, Bishop Ridley's old

After this, Dr Glyn began to reason, who (notwithstanding master Ridley had always taken him for his old friend)

made a very contumelious preface against him. This preface master Ridley, therefore, did the more take to heart, because it proceeded from him. Howbeit he thought, that Dr Glyn's mind was to serve the turn; for afterward he came to the house wherein master Ridley was kept, and, as far as master Ridley could call to remembrance, before Dr Young and Dr Oglethorpe he desired him to pardon his words. The which master Ridley did even from the very heart; and wished earnestly, that God would give not only to him, but unto all others, the true and evident knowledge of God's evangelical sincerity, that, all offences put apart, they being perfectly and fully reconciled, might agree and meet together in the house of the heavenly Father.

Friend, desireth him of pardon. Ridley forgiveth Dr Glyn.

Glyn:—"I see that you elude or shift away all Scriptures and fathers: I will go to work with you after another sort:—Christ hath here his church known in earth, of which you were once a child, although now you speak contumeliously of the sacraments."

Ridley:—"This is a grievous contumely, that you call me a shifter away of the Scripture and of the doctors. As touching the sacraments, I never yet spake contumeliously of them. I grant that Christ hath here his church in earth; but that church did ever receive and acknowledge the eucharist to be a sacrament of the body of Christ, yet not the body of Christ really, but the body of Christ by grace."

Glyn:—"Then I ask this question: whether the catholic church hath ever or at any time been idolatrous?"

Ridley:—"The church is the pillar and stay of the truth, that never yet hath been idolatrous in respect of the whole; but, peradventure, in respect of some part thereof, which sometimes may be seduced by evil pastors, and through ignorance."

Glyn:—"That church ever hath worshipped the flesh of Christ in the eucharist.

"But the church hath never been idolatrous:

"Ergo, It hath alway judged the flesh of Christ to be in the eucharist."

"This argument, having the minor a negative, neither is formable in the third

Ridley:—"And I also worship Christ in the sacrament, but not because he is included in the sacrament: like as I

figure, nor doth it conclude rightly, but should conclude thus: ergo, to worship the flesh of Christ in the eucharist is no idolatry."—Sumptum ab autographo Ridlei manu descripto.

worship Christ also in the Scriptures, not because he is really included in them. Notwithstanding I say, that the body of Christ is present in the sacrament; but yet sacramentally and spiritually (according to his grace) giving life, and in that respect really, that is, according to his benediction, giving life. Furthermore, I acknowledge gladly the true body of Christ to be in the Lord's supper, in such sort as the Church of Christ (which is the sponse of Christ, and is taught of the Holy Ghost, and guided by God's word) doth acknowledge the same. But the true church of Christ doth acknowledge a presence of Christ's body in the Lord's supper to be communicated to the godly by grace, and spiritually, as I have often shewed, and by a sacramental signification; but not by the corporal presence of the body of his flesh."

Glyn:—"Augustine against Faustus [saith,][1] 'Some there were which thought us, instead of bread and of the cup, to worship Ceres and Bacchus." Upon this place I gather, that there was an adoration of the sacrament among the fathers; and Erasmus, in an epistle to the brethren of Low Germany, saith, that the worshipping of the sacrament was before Augustine and Cyprian."

Ridley:—"We do handle the signs reverently: but we worship the sacrament as a sacrament, not as a thing signified by the sacrament."

Glyn:—"What is the symbol or sacrament?"

Ridley:—"Bread."

This word 'worship' distinguished.

Glyn:—"Ergo, We worship bread."

Ridley:—"There is a deceit in this word 'adoramus.' We worship the symbols, when reverently we handle them. We worship Christ wheresoever we perceive his benefits; but we understand his benefits to be greatest in the sacrament."

Glyn:—"So I may fall down before the bench here, and worship Christ; and if any man ask me what I do, I may answer, I worship Christ."

Ridley:—"We adore and worship Christ in the eucharist. And if you mean the external sacrament; I say, that also is to be worshipped as a sacrament."

[1 "Nonnulli propter panem et calicem Cererem et Bacchum nos colere existimabat," etc. August. contra Faust. lib. xx. cap. 13. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685, tom. viii. col. 342. Ed.]

Glyn:—"So was the faith of the primitive church."

Ridley:—"Would to God we would all follow the faith of that church!"

Glyn:—"Think you that Christ hath now his church?"

Ridley:—"I do so."

Glyn:—"But all the church adoreth Christ verily and really in the sacrament."

Ridley: "You know yourself, that the eastern church would not acknowledge transubstantiation; as appeareth in the council of Florence."

This council of Florence was but of late years, in the time of the council of Basil.

Cole:—"That is false: for in the same they did acknowledge transubstantiation; although they would not entreat of that matter, for that they had not in their commission so to do."

Ridley:—"Nay, they would determine nothing of that matter, when the article was propounded unto them."

Cole:—"It was not because they did not acknowledge the same, but because they had no commission so to do."

Curtop:—"Reverend Sir, I will prove and declare, that the body of Christ is truly and really in the eucharist: and whereas the holy fathers, both of the west and east church, have written both many things and no less manifest of the same matter, yet will I bring forth only Chrysostom. The place is this[2]:

"That which is in the cup, is the same that flowed from the side of Christ.

"But true and pure blood did flow from the side of Christ:

"Ergo, His true and pure blood is in the cup."

The major should be thus: Whatsoever did flow from the side of Christ is in the cup, &c. or else the argument being in the figure is affirmative, and false.

Ridley:—"It is his true blood which is in the chalice, I grant, and the same which sprang from the side of Christ. But how? It is blood indeed, but not after the same manner, after which manner it sprang from his side. For here is the blood, but by way of a sacrament.—Again I say, like as the bread of the sacrament and of thanksgiving is called the body of Christ given for us; so the cup of the Lord is called the blood which sprang from the side of Christ: but

[2 Τοῦτο τὸ ἐν ποτηρίῳ ὄν, ἐκεῖνο ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πλευρᾶς ῥεῦσαν· καὶ ἐκείνου μετέχομεν. S. Chrys. in cap. x. Cor. 1. Hom. xxiv. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1732, tom. x. pp. 212—13. Ed.]

that sacramental bread is called the body, because it is the sacrament of his body. Even so likewise the cup is called the blood also, which flowed out of Christ's side, because it is the sacrament of that blood which flowed out of his side, instituted of the Lord himself for our singular commodity, namely, for our spiritual nourishment; like as baptism is ordained in water to our spiritual regeneration."

Curtop:—"The sacrament of the blood is not the blood."

Ridley:—"The sacrament of the blood is the blood; and that is attributed to the sacrament, which is spoken of the thing of the sacrament."

(Here Weston repeateth Curtop's argument in English.)

This argument concludeth not directly, and, being in the second figure affirmative, it is not formal.

Weston:—"That which is in the chalice, is the same which flowed out of Christ's side.

"But there came out very blood:

"Ergo, There is very blood in the chalice."

Ridley:—"The blood of Christ is in the chalice indeed, but not in the real presence, but by grace, and in a sacrament."

Weston:—"That is very well. Then we have blood in the chalice."

Ridley:—"It is true; but by grace, and in a sacrament."

(Here the people hissed at him.)

Ridley:—"O my masters! I take this for no judgment: I will stand to God's judgment."

Watson:—"Good sir, I have determined to have respect of the time, and to abstain from all those things which may hinder the entrance of our disceptation: and therefore first I ask this question: When Christ said in John vi., 'He that eateth my flesh,' &c., doth he signify in those words the eating of his true and natural flesh, or else of the bread and symbol?"

"Qui manducat carnem meam."

Spiritual eating of the flesh of Christ.

Ridley:—"I understand that place of the very flesh of Christ to be eaten, but spiritually: and further I say, that the sacrament also pertaineth unto the spiritual manducation: for without the spirit to eat the sacrament is to eat it unprofitably; for whoso eateth not spiritually, he eateth his own condemnation."

Watson:—"I ask then, whether the eucharist be a sacrament?"

Ridley:—"The eucharist, taken for a sign or symbol, is a sacrament."

Watson:—"Is it instituted of God?"

Ridley:—"It is instituted of God."

Watson:—"Where?"

Ridley:—"In the supper."

Watson:—"With what words is it made a sacrament?"

Ridley:—"By the words and deeds which Christ said and did, and commanded us to say and do the same."

Watson:—"It is a thing commonly received of all, that the sacraments of the new law give grace to them that worthily receive."

Ridley:—"True it is, that grace is given by the sacrament; but as by an instrument. The inward virtue and Christ give the grace through the sacrament."

Watson:—"What is a sacrament?"

Ridley:—"I remember there be many definitions of a sacrament in Agustine: but I will take that which seemeth most fit to this present purpose. A sacrament is a visible sign of invisible grace." Sacrament defined.

Watson:—"Ergo, Grace is given to the receivers."

Ridley:—"The society or conjunction with Christ through the Holy Ghost is grace; and by the sacrament we are made the members of the mystical body of Christ, for that by the sacrament the part of the body is grafted in the head."

Watson:—"But there is difference between the mystical body and natural body."

Ridley:—"There is, I grant you, a difference; but the head of them both is one."

Watson:—"The eucharist is a sacrament of the new testament: Argument.

"Ergo, It hath a promise of grace.

"But no promise of grace is made to bread and wine:

"Ergo, Bread and wine be not the sacraments of the new testament." The syllogism is thus to be formed. The sacrament of the New Testament hath a promise of grace annexed: bread and wine have

Ridley:—"I grant that grace pertaineth to the eucharist, according to this saying, 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication or partaking of the body of Christ?'"

no promise of grace annexed: ergo, bread and wine is no sacrament of the New Testament.

No promise made to bread and wine as they be common bread and common wine: but as they be sanctified and made sacraments of the Lord's body and blood, they are not now called bread and wine, but have a promise annexed to them, or rather (to say the truth) annexed to the receivers of them. John vi.

And like as he that eateth and he that drinketh unworthily the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord, eateth and drinketh his own damnation; even so he that eateth and drinketh worthily, eateth life, and drinketh life. I grant also that there is no promise made to bread and wine. But inasmuch as they are sanctified, and made the sacraments of the body and blood of the Lord, they have a promise of grace annexed unto them; namely, of spiritual partaking of the body of Christ to be communicated and given, not to the bread and wine, but to them which worthily do receive the sacrament."

Watson:—"If the substance of bread and wine do remain, then the society betwixt Christ and us is promised to them that take bread and wine.

"But that society is not promised to bread and wine, but to the receivers of the flesh and blood: 'Qui manducat,' &c.

"Ergo, The substance of bread and wine remaineth not."

Ridley:—"The promise undoubtedly is made to the flesh and the blood; but the same is to be received in the sacrament through faith."

Watson:—"Every sacrament hath a promise of grace annexed unto it; but bread and wine have not a promise of grace annexed unto them:

"Ergo, The bread and wine are not sacraments."

Sacraments have a promise of grace annexed, not absolutely, but instrumentally.

Ridley:—"True it is, every sacrament hath grace annexed unto it instrumentally. But there is divers understanding of this word 'habet,' 'hath:' for the sacrament hath not grace included in it; but to those that receive it well, it is turned to grace. After that manner the water in baptism hath grace promised, and by that grace the Holy Spirit is given: not that grace is included in water, but that grace cometh by water."

Watson:—"This promise is made to the flesh and blood of Christ, and not to the bread and wine:

"Ergo, The sacrament is not bread and wine, but the body and blood of Christ."

Ridley:—"There is no promise made to him that taketh common bread and common wine; but to him that receiveth the sanctified bread, and bread of the communion, there is a large promise of grace made: neither is the promise given

to the symbols, but to the thing of the sacrament. But the thing of the sacrament is the flesh and blood."

Watson:—"Every sacrament of the new testament giveth grace, promised of God to those that worthily receive it."

Ridley:—"This sacrament hath a promise of grace, made to those that receive it worthily, because grace is given by it, as by an instrument; not that Christ hath transfused grace into the bread and wine." Sacraments only instruments of grace.

Watson:—"But this promise which is made, is not but to those that worthily receive the flesh and blood; not the bread and wine."

Ridley:—"That proposition of yours hath a divers understanding. There is no promise made to them that receive common bread, as it were; but to those that worthily receive the sanctified bread there is a promise of grace made, like as Origen doth testify."

Watson:—"Where is that promise made?"

Ridley:—"The bread which we break, is it not a communication of the body of Christ? And we being many are one bread, one body of Christ." 1 Cor. x.

Watson:—"What doth he mean by bread in that place?"

Ridley:—"The bread of the Lord's table, the communion of the body of Christ."

Watson:—"Hearken what Chrysostom saith upon that place[1]: 'The bread which we break, is it not the communication of Christ's body?' Wherefore did he not say participation? Because he would signify some greater matter, and that he would declare a great convenience and conjunction betwixt the same. For we do not communicate by participation only and receiving, but also by co-uniting; for likewise as that body is co-united to Christ, so also we, by the same bread, are conjoined and united to him."

[1 Ὁ ἄρτος ὃν κλῶμεν, οὐχὶ κοινωνία τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐστί; διὰ τί μὴ εἶπε μετοχή; ὅτι πλέον τι ὁηλῶσαι ἠβουλήθη, καὶ πολλὴν ἐνδείξασθαι τὴν συνάφειαν· οὐ γὰρ τῷ μετέχειν μόνον καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἑνοῦσθαι κοινωνοῦμεν. καθάπερ γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ἐκεῖνο ἥνωται τῷ Χριστῷ, οὕτω δὲ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἄρτου τούτου ἑνούμεθα. S. Chrysost. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Corinth. cap. x. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1718. tom. x. p. 213. Ed.]

Answer to Chrysostom.

Ridley:—"Let Chrysostom have his manner of speaking and his sentence. If it be true, I reject it not. But let it not be prejudicial to me, to name it true bread."

Chrysostom: one bread, one mystical body.

Watson:—"'All,' saith Chrysostom, 'which sit together at one board, do communicate together of one true body. What do I call,' saith he, 'this communicating? We are all the selfsame body. What doth bread signify? The body of Christ. What be they that receive it? The body of Christ: for many are but one body.' Chrysostom doth interpret this place against you: 'All we be one bread and one mystical body, which do participate together one bread of Christ[1].'"

Ridley:—"All we be one mystical body, which do communicate of one Christ in bread, after the efficacy of regeneration or quickening."

Watson:—"Of what manner of bread speaketh he?"

Ridley:—"Of the bread of the Lord's table."

Watson:—"Is not that bread one?"

Ridley:—"It is one, the church being one; because one bread is set forth upon the table: and so of one bread all together do participate, which communicate at the table of the Lord."

Watson:—"See how absurdly you speak. Do you say, all which be from the beginning to the end of the world?"

Ridley:—"All, I say, which at one table together have communicated in the mysteries might well so do. Albeit the heavenly and celestial bread is likewise one also, whereof the sacramental bread is a mystery: the which, being one, all we together do participate."

A cavil.

Watson:—"A perverse answer. Which 'all'? Mean you all christian men?"

Ridley:—"I do distribute this word 'all;' for all were wont together to communicate of the one bread divided into parts: all, I say, which were in one congregation, and which all did communicate together at one table."

[1 Τί γὰρ λέγω κοινωνίαν, φησίν; αὐτό ἐσμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα. τί γάρ ἐστὶν ὁ ἄρτος; σῶμα Χριστοῦ. τί δὲ γίνονται οἱ μεταλαμβάνοντες; σῶμα Χριστοῦ, οὐχὶ σώματα πολλὰ ἀλλὰ σῶμα ἕν. S. Chrysost. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Corinth. cap. x. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1718. tom. x. p. 213. Ed.]

Watson:—"What? Do you exclude then from the body of Christ all them which did not communicate, being present?"

Fecknam:—"But Cyprian saith[2], 'Bread which no multitude doth consume:' which cannot be understood but only of the body of Christ."

Ridley:—"Also Cyprian in this place did speak of the true body of Christ, and not of material bread."

Fecknam:—"Nay, rather he did there entreat of the sacrament in that tractation 'De Cœna Domini,' writing upon the supper of the Lord."

Ridley:—"Truth it is, and I grant he entreateth there of the sacrament: but also he doth admix something therewithal of the spiritual manducation."

Smith:—"When the Lord saith, 'This is my body,' he useth no tropical speech:

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley:—"I deny your antecedent."

Smith:—"I bring here Augustine expounding these words, 'He was carried in his own hands[3]:' How may this be understood to be done in man? For no man is carried in his own hands, but in the hands of other. How this may be understood of David after the letter, we do not find; of Christ we find it. For Christ was borne in his own hands, when he saith, 'This is my body:' for he carried that same body in his own hands, &c. Augustine here did not see how this place, after the letter, could be understood of David; because no man can carry himself in his own hands. 'Therefore,' saith he, 'this place is to be understood of Christ after the letter.' For Christ carried himself in his own hands in his supper, when he gave the sacrament to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body.'"

Ridley:—"I deny your argument, and I explicate the same. Augustine could not find, after his own understanding, Augustine answered.

[2 "Nulla panem hunc multitudo consumit." Cyprian. de Cœna Dom. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726. col. cxv. Ed.]

[3 "Hoc vero, fratres, quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portatur, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de David secundum literam, non invenimus; de Christo autem invenimus. Ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis cum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum. Ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis," etc. S. Aug. in Psal. xxxiii. En. 1. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685. tom. iv. col. 214. Ed.]

how this could be understood of David after the letter. Augustine goeth here from others in this exposition, but I go not from him. But let this exposition of Augustine be granted to you; although I know this place of Scripture be otherwise read of other men, after the verity of the Hebrew text, and it is also otherwise to be expounded. Yet, to grant to you this exposition of Augustine, I say yet notwithstanding, it maketh nothing against my assertion: for Christ did bear himself in his own hands, when he gave the sacrament of his body to be eaten of his disciples."

Smith:—"Ergo, It is true of Christ after the letter, that he was borne in his own hands."

Ridley:—"He was borne literally, and after that letter which was spoken of David: but not after the letter of these words, 'Hoc est corpus meum.'

The place of Augustine, how Christ was carried in his own hands "ad literam," i.e. literally.

"I grant that St Augustine saith, that it is not found literally of David, that he carried himself in his own hands, and that it is found of Christ. But this word 'ad literam,' 'literally,' you do not well refer to that which was borne, but rather it ought to be referred to him that did bear it. St Augustine's meaning is this; that it is not read anywhere in the Bible, that this carnal David, the Son of Jesse, did bear himself in his hands; but of that spiritual David, that overthrew Goliath the devil (that is, of Christ our Saviour, the son of the Virgin), it may well be found literally, that he bare himself in his own hands after a certain manner, namely, in carrying the sacrament of himself. And note, that St Augustine hath these words, 'quodam modo,' 'after a certain manner;' which manifestly declare, how the doctor's meaning is to be taken."

Smith:—"When then was he borne in his own hands, and after what letter?"

Ridley:—"He was borne in the supper sacramentally, when he said, 'This is my body.'"

A figure he may bear, but not a sacrament.

Smith:—"Every man may bear in his own hands a figure of his body. But Augustine denieth that David could carry himself in his hands:

"Ergo, He speaketh of no figure of his body."

Ridley:—"If Augustine could have found in all the Scripture, that David had carried the sacrament of his body, then he would never have used that exposition of Christ."

Smith:—"But he did bare himself in his own hands:

"Ergo, He did not bear a figure only."

Ridley:—"He did bear himself, but in a sacrament: and Augustine afterward addeth, 'quodam modo,' that is, 'sacramentally.'"

Smith:—"You understand not what Augustine meant when he said, 'quodam modo;' for he meant, that he did bear his very true body in that supper, not in figure and form of a body, but in form and figure of bread: Quodam modo.

"Ergo, You are holden fast, neither are you able to escape out of this labyrinth."

Dr Weston repeated this place again in English: which done, then Dr Tresham began thus to speak, moved (as it seemed to master Ridley) with great zeal; and desired that he might be in the stead of John Baptist, in converting the hearts of the fathers, and in reducing the said Bishop Ridley again to the mother church. Now at the first, not knowing the person, he thought he had been some good old man, which had the zeal of God, although not according to knowledge, and began to answer him with mansuetude and reverence: but afterward he smelled a fox under a sheep's clothing.

Tresham:—"God Almighty grant that it may be fulfilled in me, that was spoken by the prophet Malachi of John Baptist, 'Which may turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers, that you at length may be converted.' The wise man saith, 'Son, honour thy father, and reverence thy mother:' but you dishonour your Father in heaven, and pollute your mother the holy church here on earth, while ye set nought by her." Tresham prayeth for converting Ridley.

Ridley:—"These bye words do pollute your school."

Tresham:—"If there were an Arian which had that subtle wit that you have, he might soon shift off the authority of the Scriptures and fathers."

Weston:—"Either dispute, or else hold your peace, I pray you."

Tresham:—"I bring a place here out of the council of Lateran, the which council representing the universal church, The decree of the Lateran council

alleged for transubstantiation.

wherein were congregated three hundred bishops and seventy metropolitans, besides a great multitude of others, decreed that bread and wine, by the power of God's word, was transubstantiate into the body and blood of the Lord. Therefore whosoever saith contrary, cannot be a child of the church, but a heretic."

Ibid.

Ridley:—"Good sir, I have heard what you have cited out of the council of Lateran, and remember that there was a great multitude of bishops and metropolitans, as you said: but yet you have not numbered how many abbots, priors, and friars were in that council, who were to the number of eight hundred."

Carping.

One of the Scribes:—"What! will you deny then the authority of that council, for the multitude of those priors?"

Ridley:—"No, sir, not so much for that cause, as for that, especially, because the doctrine of that council agreed not with the word of God, as it may well appear by the acts of that council, which was holden under Innocent the Third, a man (if we believe the histories) most pernicious to the church and commonwealth of Christ."

Council of Lateran.

Tresham:—"What! do you not receive the council of Lateran?" Whereupon he, with certain others, cried, "Scribite, scribite," Write, write.

Ridley:—"No, sir, I receive not that council; 'scribite, et rescribite,' write, and write again."

Tresham:—"Evil men do eat the natural body of Christ: ergo, the true and natural body of Christ is on the altar."

Ridley:—"Evil men do eat the very true and natural body of Christ sacramentally, and no further; as St Augustine saith. But good men do eat the very true body, both sacramentally, and spiritually by grace."

Tresham:—"I prove the contrary by St Augustine: 'Sicut enim Judas, cui buccellulam Dominus tradidit, non malum accipiendo, sed male accipiendo, peccavit,' &c.[1] 'Like as Judas, to whom the Lord gave the morsel, did offend, not in taking a thing that was evil, but in receiving it after an evil manner,' &c. And a little after[2]. 'Because some

[1 Aug. lib. v. cont. Donatistas. cap. 8. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685. tom. ix. col. 146. Ed.]

[2 Aut quia non ad salutem accipit, nihil acceperit. Ibid. Ed.]

do not eat unto salvation, it followeth not therefore, that it is not his body.'"

Ridley:—"It is the body to them, that is, the sacrament of the body: and Judas took the sacrament of the Lord to his condemnation. Augustine hath distinguished these things well in another place, where he saith[3], 'The bread of the Lord, [and] the bread the Lord. Evil men eat the bread of the Lord, but not the bread the Lord: but good men eat both the bread of the Lord, and bread the Lord.'"

Weston:—"Paul saith, 'the body,' and you say, the sacrament of the body." This Weston spake in English.

Ridley:—"Paul meaneth so indeed."

Watson:—"You understand it evil concerning the sign: for the fathers say, that evil men do eat him which descended from heaven."

Ridley:—"They eat him indeed, but sacramentally. The fathers use many times the sacrament for the matter of the sacrament, and all that same place maketh against you:" and so here he cited the place. The old doctors, &c.

Weston:—"I bring Theophylact, which saith, that Judas did taste the body of the Lord[4]. 'The Lord did shew the cruelty of Judas, who, when he was rebuked, did not understand, and tasted the Lord's flesh,' &c." Theophylact alleged.

Ridley:—"This phrase to divines is well known, and used of the doctors: He tasted the flesh of the Lord, 'insensibiliter,' 'insensibly;' that is, the sacrament of the Lord's flesh." Answer.

Weston:—"Chrysostom saith, that the same punishment remaineth to them which receive the body of the Lord unworthily, as to them which crucified him." Chrysostom alleged.

Ridley:—"That is, because they defile the Lord's body: for evil men do eat the body of Christ sacramentally, but Chrysostom expounded.

[3 "Panem Domini, et panem Dominum. Mali manducant panem Domini, non panem Dominum: boni autem manducant et panem Domini, et panem Dominum." S. Aug. on Johan. Evan. Tract. lix. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685. tom. iii. pars 2. col. 663. Ed.]

[4 Διὰ τοῦτο προσέθηκε τὸ ἐσθιόντων, ἵνα παραστήσῃ τὴν ἀπανθρωπίαν τοῦ Ἰούδα, ὅτι ἐν τραπέζῃ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βρωμάτων κοινωνίᾳ, ὅτε, εἰ καὶ θηρίον ἦν, πραότερος ἂν ἐγεγόνει, τότε οὐδὲ ἐλεγχόμενος συνῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος οὐ μεταμελεῖται. Theoph. in Math. Evan. cap. xxvi. Ed. Morelli, Paris. 1631. p. 161. Ed.]

good men eat both the sacrament and the matter of the sacrament."

The council of Nice alleged.

Watson:—"You reject the council of Lateran, because (you say) it agreeth not with God's word. What say you then to the council of Nice? The words of the council be these: 'Let us not look a-low by the ground upon the bread and the drink set before us, but, lifting up our mind, let us faithfully believe, there upon that holy table to lie the Lamb of God taking away the sins of the world, being sacrificed of the priests[1].'"

Ridley:—"That council was collected out of ancient fathers, and is to me a great authority; for it saith, 'that bread is set upon the altar, and having our minds lifted up, we must consider him which is in heaven.' The words of the council make for me."

The place expounded. If the Lamb of God lie really upon the table, then why doth the council bid us lift up our minds; which rather should bid us let down our minds to the altar?

Watson:—"'Exaltata mente,' 'with a mind exalted:' that is, not as brute beasts at the rack or manger, having an eye only upon the thing that is set before them: 'The Lamb of God lieth on the table,' saith the council."

Ridley:—"The Lamb of God is in heaven, according to the verity of the body: and here he is with us in a mystery, according to his power; not corporally."

Watson:—"But the Lamb of God lieth on the table."

Ridley:—"It is a figurative speech; for in our mind we understand him which is in heaven."

Watson:—"But he lieth there, the Greek word is κεῖται."

Ridley:—"He lieth there; that is, he is there present, not corporally, but he lieth there by his operation."

Watson:—"He lieth; but his operation lieth not."

Ridley:—"You think very grossly of the sitting or lying of the celestial Lamb on the table of the Lord: for we may not imagine any such sitting or lying upon the table, as the reason of man would judge; but all things are here to be

[1 Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τραπέζης, πάλιν καὶ ταῦθα μὴ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ταπεινῶς προσέχωμεν, ἀλλ' ὑψώσαντες ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν πίστει νοήσωμεν κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνες τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὸν αἴροντα τὴν ἁμαρτίαν τοῦ κόσμου, ἀθύτως ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων θυόμενον. Gelasius. Hist. Conc. Nicæn. cap. xxx. apud Labbæum. Ed. 1671. tom. ii. col. 233. Ed.]

understood spiritually. For that heavenly Lamb is (as I confess) on the table; but by a spiritual presence, by grace, and not after any corporal substance of his flesh taken of the Virgin Mary. And indeed the same canon doth very plainly teach, that the bread which is set on the table is material bread; and therefore it (the canon, I mean) commandeth that we should not creep on the ground in our cogitation, to those things which are set before us; as who should say, what other things are they (as much as pertaineth to their true substance) than bread and wine? 'But rather,' saith the canon, 'lifting up our minds into heaven, let us consider with faith the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, sitting or lying upon the table.' 'For a lifted up faith,' saith he, 'seeth him which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, after the true manner of a body set by grace on the Lord's table, and taking away the sins of the world. For I think you mean not so; as though the Lamb did lie there prostrate with his members spread upon the table.'"

Another place alleged.

Smith:—"I bring another place out of the council of Nice[2]: 'None of the apostles said, this is a figure of the body of Christ: none of the reverend elders said the unbloody sacrifice of the altar to be a figure.'

"Ergo, You are deceived."

Ridley:—"This canon is not in the council of Nice; for I have read over this council many times."

The council of Florence alleged.

Then came in another, whom master Ridley knew not, and said: "The universal church both of the Greeks and Latins, of the east and of the west, have agreed in the council of Florence uniformly in the doctrine of the sacrament; that in the sacrament of the altar there is the true and real body."

Out of Dr Ridley's copy.

Ridley:—"I deny the Greek and the east church to have agreed either in the council at Florence, or at any time else, with the Romish church in the doctrine of transubstantiation

[2] "Nullus apostolorum dixit, hæc est figura corporis Christi: nullus venerabilium presbyterorum dixit incruentum altaris sacrificium figuram," etc.

of bread into the body of Christ. For there was nothing in the council of Florence[1], wherein the Greeks would agree with the Romanists; albeit hitherto, I confess, it was left free for every church to use, as they were wont, leavened or unleavened bread."

Here cried out Dr Cole, and said, they agreed together concerning transubstantiation of bread into the body of Christ. Master Ridley said, that could not be.

One of the scribes.

Here started up another unknown to master Ridley, but thought to be one of the scribes, who affirmed with him, that indeed there was nothing decreed concerning transubstantiation; but the council left that, as a matter not meet nor worthy to disturb the peace and concord of the church: to whom master Ridley answered again, saying, that he said the truth.

Pie:—"What say you to that council, where it is said, that the priest doth offer an unbloody sacrifice of the body of Christ?"

Ridley:—"I say, it is well said, if it be rightly understood."

Pie:—"But he offereth an unbloody sacrifice."

Ridley:—"It is called unbloody, and is offered after a certain manner, and in a mystery, and as a representation of that bloody sacrifice; and he doth not lie, who saith Christ to be offered."

Weston playeth Goliath with David.

Weston:—"I, with one argument, will throw down to the ground your opinion, out of Chrysostom[2], and I will teach, not only a figure, and a sign of grace only, but the very same

[1 This assertion is perfectly true, although cardinal Bessarion had managed to produce a temporary union; for his conduct in which business he was severely blamed, the Greek church being uninformed of his proceedings, and having never authorised him to attempt a union. See Historia concertationis Græc. Latinorumque de Transubstant. auct. J. R. Kieslingio; Lipsiæ, 1754, pp. 183—194. Fleury, Hist. Eccles. livre 108, § 135, and Labbé, tom. xiii. Ed.]

[2 Τοῦτο τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἐπὶ φάτνης κείμενον ᾔδεσθησαν μάγοι * * * * * σὺ δὲ οὐκ ἐν φάτνῃ ὁρᾷς, ἀλλ' ἐν θυσιαστηρίῳ, οὐ γυναῖκα κατέχουσαν, ἀλλ' ἱερέα παρεστῶτα. S. Chrys. Hom. xxiv. in 1 Cor. cap. x. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1710, tom. x. p. 218. Ed.]

body, which was here conversant on the earth, to be in the eucharist.

"We worship the selfsame body in the eucharist which the wise men did worship in the manger.

"But that was his natural and real body, not spiritual:

"Ergo, The real body of Christ is in the eucharist. This argument, after the disposition and terms, as it standeth, is not formal.

"Again, the same Chrysostom saith, 'We have not here the Lord in the manger, but on the altar: here a woman holdeth him not in her hands, but a priest.'"

Ridley:—"We worship, I confess, the same true Lord and Saviour of the world, which the wise men worshipped in the manger; howbeit we do it in a mystery, and in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and that in spiritual liberty, as saith St Augustine[3], not in carnal servitude; that is, we do not worship servilely the signs for the things: for that should be, as he also saith, a part of a servile infirmity. But we behold with the eyes of faith him present after grace, and spiritually set upon the table; and we worship him which sitteth above, and is worshipped of the angels. For Christ is always assistant to his mysteries, as the said Augustine saith. And the Divine Majesty, as saith Cyprian, doth never absent itself from the divine mysteries; but this assistance and presence of Christ, as in baptism it is wholly spiritual, and by grace, and not by any corporal substance of the flesh, even so it is here in the Lord's supper, being rightly and according to the word of God duly ministered."

Weston:—"That which the woman did hold in her womb, the same thing holdeth the priest."

Ridley:—"I grant the priest holdeth the same thing, but after another manner. She did hold the natural body; the priest holdeth the mystery of the body."

(Weston repeated again his argument out of Chrysostom in English.)

Ridley:—"I say that the author meant it spiritually."

(Weston here, dissolving the disputations, had these Weston bloweth up the triumph.

[3 S. Aug. de Doctrina Christiana, lib. iii. cap. vi. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1685. tom. iii. pars 1. col. 47. Ed.]

words[1]: "Here you see the stubborn, the glorious, the crafty, the unconstant mind of this man. Here you see this day, that the strength of the truth is without foil. Therefore I beseech you all most earnestly to blow the note (and he began, and they followed,) 'Verity hath the victory,' 'Verity hath the victory.'"

[1] "Videtis præfractum hominis animum, gloriosum, vafrum, inconstantem: videtis hodie veritatis vires inconcussas. Itaque clamate, Vicit veritas."

II.

THE ORDER AND MANNER

OF

THE EXAMINATION

OF

DR RIDLEY,

HAD THE THIRTIETH DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1555,

BEFORE THE QUEEN'S COMMISSIONERS.

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FOX'S PREFACE.

First, after the appearing of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, before the pope's delegate and the queen's commissioners, in St Mary's Church at Oxford, about the 12th day of September, whereof more shall be said (by the Lord's grace) when we come to the death of the said archbishop; shortly after, upon the 28th of the said month of September, was sent down to Oxford another commission from Cardinal Pole, legate à latere, to John White bishop of Lincoln, to Dr Brooks bishop of Gloucester, and to Dr Holyman bishop of Bristol. The contents and virtue of which commission were, that the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, and John of Bristol, they, or two of them, should have full power and authority, to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer, and Master Dr Ridley, pretensed bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations had in Oxford, in the months of May, June, and July, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, in the time of perdition[1], and since. The which opinions if the named persons would

The effect of the cardinal's commission sent down to Oxford.

[1 The Commissioners doubtless meant by this expression, the reign of Edward VI, and the latter part of that of Henry VIII. Ed.]

now recant, giving and yielding themselves to the determination of the universal and catholic church, planted by Peter in the blessed see of Rome, that then they the deputed judges, by the said authority of their commission, should have power to receive the said penitent persons, and forthwith minister unto them the reconciliation of the holy father the pope. But if the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley would stoutly and stubbornly defend and maintain these their erroneous opinions and assertions; that then the said lords by their commission should proceed in form of judgment, according to the law of heretics, that is, degrading them from their promotion and dignity of bishops, priests, and all other ecclesiastical orders, should pronounce them as heretics; and therefore clean cut them off from the church, and so yield them to receive punishment due to all such heresy and schism.

Ridley and Latimer cited to appear.

Wherefore, the last of September[1], the said two persons, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, were ascited to appear before the said lords, in the divinity school at Oxford, at eight of the clock. At what time thither repaired the lords, placing themselves in the high seat, made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, and trimmed with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet. And after the said lords were placed and set, the said Latimer and Ridley were sent for; and first appeared Master Dr Ridley, and anon Master Latimer. But because it seemed good severally to examine them, Master Latimer was kept back until Dr Ridley was throughly examined. Therefore, soon after the coming of Dr Ridley into the school, the commission was published by an appointed notary, and openly read. But Dr Ridley, standing bareheaded, humbly expecting the cause of that his appearance, eftsoons as he had heard the cardinal named, and the pope's holiness, put on his cap. Wherefore, after the commission was published in form and sense above specified, the bishop of Lincoln spake in sense following:

The words of the bishop of Lincoln to him, for not putting off his cap.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, although neither I, neither my lords here, in respect of our own persons do look for cap or knee, yet because we bear and represent such persons as

[1 Monday, Sept. 30, 1555. See Nicolas' tables. Ed.]

we do, that is my lord cardinal's grace, legate à latere to the pope's holiness, as well in that he is of a noble parentage [and therewith Master Ridley moved his cap with lowly obeisance] descending from the regal blood, as in that he is a man worthy to be reverenced with all humility for his great knowledge and learning, noble virtues, and godly life, and especially in that he is here in England deputy to the pope's holiness, it should have become you at this name to have uncovered your head. Wherefore, except you will of your ownself take the pains to put your hand to your head, and at the nomination, as well of the said cardinal, as of the pope's holiness, uncover the same, lest that this your contumacy, exhibited now before us, should be prejudicial to the said most reverend persons (which thing we may in no case suffer), you shall cause us to take the pain to cause some man to pluck off your cap from you."

To whom Master Ridley making his petition for licence, answered:

Ridley:—"As touching that you said, my lord, that you of your own persons desire no cap nor knee, but only require the same in consideration that you represent the cardinal grace's person, I do you to wit, and thereupon make my protestation, that I did put on my cap at the naming of the cardinal's grace, neither for any contumacy that I bear towards your own persons, neither for any derogation of honour to the lord cardinal's grace: for I know him to be a man worthy of all humility, reverence, and honour, in that he came of the most regal blood, and in that he is a man endued with manifold graces of learning and virtue. And as touching these virtues and points, I, with all humility [therewith he put off his cap, and bowed his knee] and obeisance that I may, will reverence and honour his grace: but, in that he is legate to the bishop of Rome, [and therewith put on his cap,] whose usurped supremacy and abused authority I utterly refuse and renounce, I may in no wise give any obeisance or honour unto him, lest that my so doing and behaviour might be prejudicial to mine oath, and a derogation to the verity of God's word. And therefore, that I might not only by confession profess the verity in

Answer of Ridley to him.

Ridley reverenceth the person of the cardinal, but not his legacy.

Ridley doeth not reverence to the pope.

not reverencing the renounced authority contrary to God's word, but also in gesture, in behaviour, and all my doings express the same, I have put on my cap; and for this consideration only, and not for any contumacy to your lordships, neither contempt of this worshipful audience, neither derogation of any honour due to the cardinal his grace, both for his noble parentage, and also his excellent qualities, I have kept on my cap."

White bishop of Lincoln replieth.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, you excuse yourself of that with the which we pressed you not, in that you protest you keep on your cap, neither for any contumacy towards us (which look for no such honour of you), neither for any contempt of this audience, which, although justly they may, yet (as I suppose) in this case do not require any such obeisance of you; neither in derogation of any honour due to my lord cardinal's grace, for his regal descent [at which word Master Ridley moved his cap] and excellent qualities; for although in all the premises honour be due, yet in these respects we require none of you, but only in that my lord cardinal's grace is, here in England, deputy of the pope's holiness [at which word the lords and others put off their caps, and Master Ridley put on his]; and therefore we say unto you the second time, that except you take the pains yourself to put your hand to your head and put off your cap, you shall put us to the pain to cause some man to take it from you, except you allege some infirmity and sickness, or other more reasonable cause, upon the consideration whereof we may do as we think good."

Putting off caps at the naming of the pope.

Ridley:—"The premises I said only for this end, that it might as well appear to your lordships, as to this worshipful audience, why and for what consideration I used such kind of behaviour, in not humbling myself to your lordships with cap and knee: and as for my sickness, I thank my Lord God, that I am as well at ease as I was this long season; and therefore I do not pretend that which is not, but only this, that it might appear by this my behaviour, that I acknowledge in no point that usurped supremacy of Rome, and therefore contemn and utterly despise all authority coming from him. In taking off my cap, do as it shall please your lordships, and I shall be content."

The usurped supremacy of Rome defied.

Then the bishop of Lincoln, after the third admonition, commanded one of the beadles (that is an officer of the University) to pluck his cap from his head. Master Ridley, bowing his head to the officer, gently permitted him to take away his cap. After this the bishop of Lincoln in a long oration exhorted Master Ridley to recant, and submit himself to the universal faith of Christ in this manner:

Ridley's cap plucked off by force.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, I am sure you have sufficiently pondered with yourself the effect of this our commission with good advisement, considering both points thereof, how that authority is given to us, if you shall receive the true doctrine of the church (which first was founded by Peter at Rome immediately after the death of Christ, and from him by lineal succession hath been brought to this our time), if you will be content to renounce your former errors, recant your heretical and seditious opinions, content to yield yourself to the undoubted faith and truth of the gospel, received and always taught of the catholic and apostolic church, the which the king and queen, all the nobles of this realm, and commons of the same, all christian people have and do confess, you only standing alone by yourself; you understand and perceive, I am sure, that authority is given us to receive you, to reconcile you, and upon due penance to adjoin and associate you again into the number of the catholics and Christ's church, from the which you have so long strayed, without the which no man can be saved, the which thing I and my lords here, yea and all, as well nobles and commons of this realm, most heartily desire, and I for my part [wherewith he put off his cap] most earnestly exhort you to do.

Nay, the faith of Christ may be proved to have been at Rome in Tiberius's time, before Peter came there.

"Remember, Master Ridley, it is no strange country whither I exhort you to return. You were once one of us; you have taken degrees in the school. You were made a priest, and became a preacher, setting forth the same doctrine which we do now. You were made bishop according to our laws; and, to be short, it is not so long agone, since you separated yourself from us, and in the time of heresy became a setter forth of that devilish and seditious doctrine which in these latter days was preached amongst us. For at what time the new doctrine of "only faith" began to spring, the

Though the country of Rome be not strange, yet the doctrine of Rome is strange.

Another untruth in bishop White, for "only faith" is no new doctrine.

council, willing to win my lord chancellor, sent you to him (I then being in my lord's house, unknown as I suppose to you); and after you had talked with my lord secretly, and were departed, immediately my lord declared certain points of your talk and means of your persuasion; and amongst others this was one, that you should say, 'Tush, my lord, this matter of justification is but a trifle, let us not stick to condescend herein to them; but for God's love, my lord, stand stoutly in the verity of the sacrament: for I see they will assault that also.' If this be true (as my lord is a man credible enough in such a matter), hereby it is declared of what mind you were then, as touching the truth of the most blessed sacrament.

These words of Ridley are falsely reported.

The bishop of Lincoln persuadeth Ridley to return to the pope's church.

"Also in a sermon of yours at Paul's Cross you as effectually and as catholicly spake of that blessed sacrament, as any man might have done; whereby it appeareth that it is no strange thing, nor unknown place whereunto I exhort you. I wish you to return thither from whence you came; that is, together with us to acknowledge the church of God, wherein no man may err, to acknowledge the supremacy of our most reverend father in God the pope's holiness, which (as I said) lineally taketh his descent from Peter, upon whom Christ promised, before his death, to build his church; the which supremacy or prerogative the most ancient fathers in all ages, in all times, did acknowledge [and here he brought a place or two out of the doctors, but especially stayed upon a saying of St Augustine[1], who writeth in this manner: 'All the christian countries beyond the sea are subject to the church of Rome[2].'] Here you see, Master Ridley, that all Christendom is subject to the church of Rome.

[1] "Dubitatur utrum forma verborum hæc sit Augustini." [Some doubt may well be expressed, as the tendency of the language contradicts the 22nd canon of the Council of Milevis, to which Augustine had himself subscribed: "Ad transmarina autem qui putaverit appellandum, a nullo intra Africam in communionem suscipiatur." See Concilia, Studio Labbei, tom. ii. col. 1543; but the passage intended for citation is, no doubt, that in Augustine's treatise "Contra Epist. Parmen." lib. 1. cap. iii. sec. 5, and its application to the bishop of Rome is here aided by the addition of Romanæ Ecclesiæ. Ed.]

[2] "Totus orbis Christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris Romanæ Ecclesiæ subjectus est."

What should stay you therefore to confess the same with St Augustine and the other fathers?"

Then Master Ridley desired his patience, to suffer him to speak somewhat of the premises, lest the multitude of things might confound his memory; and having grant thereunto, he said in this manner:

Answer of Ridley.

Ridley:—"My Lord, I most heartily thank your lordship, as well for your gentleness, as also for your sobriety in talk, and for your good and favourable zeal in this learned exhortation; in the which I have marked especially three points which you used, to persuade me to leave my doctrine and religion, which I perfectly know and am thoroughly persuaded to be grounded not upon man's imagination and decrees, but upon the infallible truth of Christ's gospel, and not to look back, and to return to the Romish see, contrary to mine oath, contrary to the prerogative and crown of this realm, and especially (which moveth me most) contrary to the expressed word of God.

Three points noted in the bishop of Lincoln's oration.

"First, The first point is this, that the see of Rome taking its beginning from Peter, upon whom you say Christ hath builded his church, hath in all ages lineally, from bishop to bishop, been brought to this time.

The see of Rome founded upon Peter.

"Secondly, That even the holy fathers from time to time have in their writings confessed the same.

Confirmed by old doctors.

"Thirdly, That in that I was once of the same opinion, and, together with you, I did acknowledge the same.

Ridley once of the same see.

"First, as touching the saying of Christ, from whence your lordship gathereth the foundation of the church upon Peter, truly the place is not so to be understood as you take it, as the circumstance of the place will declare. For after that Christ had asked his disciples whom men judged him to be, and they had answered, that some had said he was a prophet, some Elias, some one thing, some another, then he said, 'Whom say ye that I am?' Then Peter said, 'I say, That thou art Christ, the Son of God.' To whom Christ answered, 'I say, thou art Peter, and upon this stone I will build my church[3];' that is to say, upon this stone—

The church not builded upon Peter.

[3 "Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam." "Upon this stone." Compare Tindal's Works, p. 357. Nowell's Con-

not meaning Peter himself, as though he would have constituted a mortal man, so frail and brickle, a foundation of his stable and infallible church; but upon this rock-stone—that is, this confession of thine, that I am the Son of God, I will build my church. For this is the foundation and beginning of all Christianity, with word, heart, and mind to confess that Christ is the Son of God. Whosoever believeth not this, Christ is not in him; and he cannot have the mark of Christ printed on his forehead, which confesseth not that Christ is the Son of God. Therefore Christ said unto Peter, that upon this rock, that is, upon this his confession, that he was Christ the Son of God, he would build his church; to declare, that without this faith no man can come to Christ: so that this belief, that Christ is the Son of God, is the foundation of our Christianity, and the foundation of our church. Here you see upon what foundation Christ's church is built, not upon the frailty of man, but upon the stable and infallible word of God.

The church builded upon faith, not upon any person.

The words of Christ to Peter expounded.

Faith the foundation of the church.

"Now, as touching the lineal descent of the bishops in the see of Rome, true it is, that the patriarchs of Rome in the apostles' time, and long after, were great maintainers and setters forth of Christ's glory, in the which above all other countries and regions there especially was preached the true gospel, the sacraments were most duly ministered: and as before Christ's coming it was a city so valiant in prowess and martial affairs, that all the world was in a manner subject to it, and after Christ's passion divers of the apostles there suffered persecution for the gospel's sake; so, after that the emperors. their hearts being illuminated, received the gospel and became Christians, the gospel there, as well for the great power and dominion, as for the fame of the place, flourished most, whereby the bishops of that place were had in more reverence and honour, most esteemed in all councils and assemblies, not because they acknowledged them to be their head, but because the place was most reverenced and spoken of for the great power and strength of the same. As now here in England the bishop

Lineal descent of the bishop of Rome.

Why the bishops of Rome have been more esteemed than other bishops.

futation of Dorman, p. 445, &c. Jewell's Answer to Harding, p. 165, 184. Fox's Acts, p. 1637, &c. all (with others which might be cited) concurring in this interpretation. Ed.]

of Lincoln in sessions and sittings hath the pre-eminence of the other bishops, not in that he is the head and ruler of them, but for the dignity of the bishopric. [And therewith the people smiled]. Wherefore the doctors in their writings have spoken most reverently of this see of Rome, and in their writings preferred it; and this is the prerogative which your lordship did rehearse the ancient doctors to give to the see of Rome.

The prerogative that the doctors give to the see of Rome.

"Semblably, I cannot nor dare not but commend, reverence, and honour the see of Rome, as long as it continued in the promotion and setting forth of God's glory, and in due preaching of the gospel, as it did many years after Christ. But after that the bishops of that see, seeking their own pride, and not God's honour, began to set themselves above kings and emperors, challenging to them the title of God's vicars, the dominion and supremacy over all the world, I cannot but with St Gregory, a bishop of Rome also, confess that the bishop of that place is the very true Antichrist, whereof St John speaketh by the name of the whore of Babylon, and say with the said St Gregory, 'He that maketh himself a bishop over all the world, is worse than Antichrist.'

So long as it continued in sound doctrine, it was worthy to be reverenced.

The bishop of Rome proved to be Antichrist.

"Now, whereas you say St Augustine should seem not only to give such a prerogative, but also supremacy to the see of Rome, in that he saith, All the christian world is subject to the church of Rome, and therefore should give to that see a certain kind of subjection; I am sure that your lordship knoweth, that in St Augustine's time there were four patriarchs, of Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, which patriarchs had under them certain countries; as in England the archbishop of Canterbury hath under him divers bishopries in England and Wales, to whom he may be said to be their patriarch. Also your lordship knoweth right well, that at what time St Augustine wrote this book, he was then bishop in Africa. Further, you are not ignorant, that between Europe and Africa lieth the sea called Mare Mediterraneum, so that all the countries in Europe to him which is in Africa may be called transmarine, countries beyond the sea. Hereof St Augustine saith, 'All the christian countries beyond the seas and far regions are subject to the

The place of Augustine answered.

Four patriarchs in the church in his time.

How countries beyond the sea were subject to Rome.

see of Rome[1].' If I should say all countries beyond the sea, I do except England, which to me now, being in England, is not beyond the sea. In this sense St Augustine saith, 'All the countries beyond the sea are subject to the see of Rome;' declaring thereby that Rome was one of the sees of the four patriarchs, and under it Europe. By what subjection, I pray you? only for a pre-eminence, as we here in England say, that all the bishopries in England are subject to the archbishopries of Canterbury and York. For this pre-eminence, also, the other doctors (as you recited) say, that Rome is the mother of churches, as the bishopric of Lincoln is mother to the bishopric of Oxford, because the bishopric of Oxford came from the bishopric of Lincoln, and they were both once one[2]; and so is the archbishopric of Canterbury mother to the other bishoprics which are in her province. In like sort the archbishopric of York is mother to the north bishoprics; and yet no man will say, that Lincoln, Canterbury, or York, is supreme head to other bishoprics: neither then ought we to confess the see of Rome to be supreme head, because the doctors in their writings confess the see of Rome to be mother of churches.

Rome may be mother of churches, and yet not supreme head of churches.

"Now whereas you say, I was once of the same religion which you are of, the truth is, I cannot but confess the same. Yet so was St Paul a persecutor of Christ. But to that you say, that I was one of you not long agone, in that I, doing my message to my lord of Winchester, should desire him to stand stout in that gross opinion of the supper of the Lord; in very deed I was sent (as your lordship said) from the council to my lord of Winchester, to exhort him to receive also the true confession of justification; and because he was very refractorious, I said to him, 'Why, my lord, what make you so great a matter herein? You see many Anabaptists rise against the sacrament of the altar; I pray you, my lord, be diligent in confounding of them;' for at that time my lord of Winchester and I

[1] "Totus orbis christianus in transmarinis et longe remotis terris Ecclesiæ Romanæ subjectus est."

[2] "Both once one." The see of Oxford was erected out of part of the ancient diocese of Lincoln, A. D. 1542. See Richardson's Godwin. Ed.]

had to do with two Anabaptists in Kent. In this sense I willed my lord to be stiff in the defence of the sacrament against the detestable errors of Anabaptists, and not in the confirmation of that gross and carnal opinion now maintained.

Ridley falsely charged to preach transubstantiation at Paul's Cross.

"In like sort, as touching my sermon which I made at Paul's Cross, you shall understand that there were at Paul's, and divers other places, fixed railing bills against the sacrament, terming it 'Jack of the box,' 'the sacrament of the halter,' 'round Robin,' with such like unseemly terms; for the which causes I, to rebuke the unreverend behaviour of certain evil disposed persons, preached as reverendly of that matter as I might, declaring what estimation and reverence ought to be given to it, what danger ensued the mishandling thereof; affirming in that sacrament to be truly and verily the body and blood of Christ, effectually by grace and spirit: which words the unlearned, understanding not, supposed that I meant of the gross and carnal being which the Romish decrees set forth, that a body, having life and motion, should be indeed under the shapes of bread and wine."

Ridley mistaken in his sermon.

With that the bishop of Lincoln, somewhat interrupting him, said:—

Lincoln replieth.

"Well, Master Ridley, thus you wrest places to your own pleasure; for whereas St Augustine saith, that the whole christian world is subject to the see of Rome without any limitation, and useth these words, 'In transmarinis et longe remotis terris,' only to express the latitude of the dominion of the see of Rome, willing thereby to declare that all the world, yea countries far distant from Rome, yet nevertheless are subject to that see, yet you would wrest it, and leave it only to Europe. I am sure ye will not deny, but that 'totus mundus' is more than Europe."

Ridley answereth to the words of Augustine.

Ridley:—"Indeed, my lord, if St Augustine had said, 'simpliciter totus mundus,' and not added 'in transmarinis,' it had been without limitation; but in that he said, 'totus mundus in transmarinis partibus,' 'all the countries beyond the seas,' he himself doth limit the universal proposition, declaring how far he meant by 'totus mundus.'"

The bishop, not staying for his answer, did proceed, saying:—

"Well, if I should stay upon this place, I could bring many more places of the fathers for the confirmation thereof; but we have certain instructions, according to the which we must proceed, and came not hither to dispute the matter with you, but only to take your answers to certain articles; and used this in the way of disputation, in the which you interrupted me: wherefore I will return thither again.

Lincoln returneth to his oration.

"Ye must consider that the church of Christ lieth not hidden, but is a city on the mountain, and a candle on the candlestick. Ponder with yourself, that the church of Christ is 'catholica,' 'catholic,' which is deduced of κατὰ ὅλον, that is 'per omnia:' so that Christ's church is universally spread throughout the world, not contained in the alligation of places, not comprehended in the circuit of England, not contained in the compass of Germany and Saxony, as your church is. Wherefore, Master Ridley, for God's love be ye not singular; acknowledge with all the realm the truth: it shall not be (as you allege) prejudicial to the crown; for the king and queen their majesties have renounced that usurped power taken of their predecessors, and justly have renounced it. For I am sure you know that there are two powers, the one declared by the sword, the other by the keys. The sword is given to kings and rulers of countries; the keys were delivered by Christ to Peter, and of him left to all the successors. As touching our goods, possessions, and lives, we with you acknowledge us subjects to the king and queen, who hath the temporal sword; but as concerning matters of religion, as touching God's quarrel and his word, we acknowledge another head: and as the king and the queen their highnesses do, in all worldly affairs, justly challenge the prerogative and primacy, so in spiritual and ecclesiastical matters they acknowledge themselves not to be heads and rulers, but members of Christ's body. Why therefore should ye stick at that matter, the which their majesties have forsaken and yielded?

And why then do you alligate it to the city of Rome?

Two powers; the keys and the sword.

England, how subject to the king, and how to the pope.

"Wherefore, Master Ridley, you shall not only not do injury to the crown, and be prejudicial to their majesties' honour, in acknowledging with all Christendom the pope's

Ridley exhorted to submit himself to the pope.

holiness to be supreme head of Christ's church here militant in earth, but do a thing most delectable in their sight, and most desired of his holiness. Thus if you will do, revoking together all your errors, acknowledging with the residue of the realm the common and the public fault, you shall do that all men most heartily desire; you shall bring quietness to your conscience, and health to your soul. Then shall we with great joy, by the authority committed to us from the cardinal's grace, receive you into the church again, acknowledging you to be no longer a rotten, but a lively member of the same. But if you shall still be singular, if you shall still and obstinately persevere in your errors, stubbornly maintaining your former heresies, then we must, against our will, according to our commission, separate you from us, and cut you off from the church, lest the rottenness of one part in process of time putrefy and corrupt the whole body; then must we confess and publish you to be none of ours; then must we yield you up to the temporal judges, of whom, except it otherwise please the king and queen's highness, you must receive punishment by the laws of this realm due for heretics.

Fear of punishment set before him.

"Wherefore, Master Ridley, consider your state; remember your former degrees; spare your body; especially consider your soul, which Christ so dearly brought with his precious blood. Do not you rashly cast away that which was precious in God's sight; enforce not us to do all that we may do, which is not only to publish you to be none of us, to cut you off from the church; for we do not, nor cannot condemn you to die (as most untruly hath been reported of us), but that is the temporal judge's office; we only declare you to be none of the church; and then must you, according to the tenor of them, and pleasure of the rulers, abide their determination, so that we, after we have given you up to the temporal rulers, have no further to do with you.

But that office you yourselves have assigned unto them.

"But I trust, Master Ridley, we shall not have occasion to do that we may. I trust you will suffer us to rest in that point of our commission, which we most heartily desire, that is, upon recantation and repentance to receive you, to reconcile you, and again to adjoin you to the unity of the church."

Then Master Ridley, with often interruption, at length spake:—

Answer of Ridley to Lincoln.

Ridley:—"My Lord, I acknowledge an unspotted church of Christ, in the which no man can err, without the which no man can be saved; the which is spread throughout all the world, that is, the congregation of the faithful; neither do I alligate or bind the same to any one place, as you said, but confess the same to be spread throughout all the world; and where Christ's sacraments are duly ministered, his gospel truly preached and followed, there doth Christ's church shine as a city upon a hill, and as a candle in the candlestick: but rather it is such as you that would have the church of Christ bound to a place, which appoint the same to Rome, that there, and no where else, is the foundation of Christ's church. But I am fully persuaded that Christ's church is everywhere founded, in every place where his gospel is truly received and effectually followed. And in that the church of God is in doubt, I use herein the wise counsel of Vincentius Lyrinensis, whom I am sure you will allow, who, giving precepts how the catholic church may be in all schisms and heresies known, writeth in this manner: 'When,' saith he, 'one part is corrupted with heresies, then prefer the whole world before that one part; but if the greatest part be infected, then prefer antiquity[1].' In like sort now, when I perceive the greatest part of Christianity to be infected with the poison of the see of Rome, I repair to the usage of the primitive church, which I find clean contrary to the pope's decrees; as in that the priest receiveth alone, that it is made unlawful to the laity to receive in both kinds, and such like. Wherefore it requireth that I prefer the antiquity of the primitive church before the novelty of the Romish church."

He meaneth, in which no general error can be finally established.

The church tied to no place.

The [Roman] catholics do bind the church to a certain place, and that only to Rome. The protestants bind the church to no one certain place, but follow the confession of the word.

Great part of Christendom infected with the church of Rome.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, these faults which you charge the see of Rome withal, are indeed no faults. For first, it

[1] Quid igitur faciet Christianus Catholicus, si se aliqua Ecclesiæ particula ab universalis fidei communione præciderit? Quid utique, nisi ut pestifero corruptoque membro sanitatem universi corporis anteponat? Quid si novella aliqua contagio non jam portiunculam tantum, sed totam pariter Ecclesiam commaculare conetur? Tunc item providebit ut antiquitati inhærcat, quæ prorsus jam non potest ab ulla novitatis fraude seduci. Vincentius Lyrinensis, cap. iv. Ed. Baluzii. Cantab. 1687.]

was never forbidden the laity, but that they might, if they demanded, receive under both kinds. You know also that Christ, after his resurrection, at what time he went with his apostles to Galilee, opened himself by breaking of bread. You know that St Paul, after his long sailing towards Rome, brake bread, and that the apostles came together in breaking of bread; which declareth that it is not unlawful to minister the sacrament under the form of bread only: and yet the church had just occasion to decree, that the laity should receive in one kind only, thereby to take away an opinion of the unlearned, that Christ was not wholly both flesh and blood under the form of bread. Therefore, to take away their opinion, and to establish better the people's faith, the Holy Ghost in the church thought fit to decree, that the laity should receive only in one kind: and it is no news for the church upon just consideration to alter rites and ceremonies; for you read in the Acts of the Apostles, that St Paul, writing to certain of the Gentiles which had received the gospel, biddeth them to abstain, 'a suffocato et sanguine,' that is, from things stifled, and from blood; so that this seemeth to be an express commandment; yet who will say but that it is lawful to eat bloodings? how is it lawful, but by the permission of the church?"

The Bohemians required that, and were shent for their labour.

Great reasons of the Romanists to prove the communion under one kind.

Argument:—The church did abrogate the precept of the apostles of strangled and bloodings: ergo, the church likewise hath authority touching the ministration under both kinds.

Ridley:—"My lord, such things as St Paul enjoined to the Gentiles for a sufferance, by a little and little to win the Jews to Christ, were only commandments of time, and respected not the successors: but Christ's commandment, 'Do this,' that is, that which he did, 'in remembrance,' which was not to minister in one kind only, was not a commandment for a time, but to persevere to the world's end."

Answer:—The precept of the apostles was but for a time, and for a purpose, by little and little to win the Jews.

But the bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this answer, without any stay, proceeded in this oration.

Lincoln:—"So that the church seemeth to have authority by the Holy Ghost, whom Christ said he would send after his ascension, which should teach the apostles all truth, to have power and jurisdiction to alter such points of the Scripture, ever reserving the foundation. But we came not, as I said before, in this sort to reason the matter with you, but have certain instructions ministered unto us, according

to the tenor of the which we must proceed, proposing certain articles, unto the which we require your answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively to every of them, either denying them or granting them, without further disputations or reasoning; for we have already stretched our instructions, in that we suffered you to debate and reason the matter in such sort as we have done: the which articles you shall hear now; and to-morrow, at eight of the clock in St Mary's Church, we will require and take your answers; and then according to the same proceed. And if you require a copy of them, you shall have it, pen, ink, and paper; also such books as you shall demand, if they be to be gotten in the university."

Articles, jointly and severally ministered to Dr Ridley *and* Master Latimer, *by the Pope's Deputy.*

[1]In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolniensis, Iacobus Glocestrensis, et Iohannes Bristollensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum, miseratione divinâ S. Mariæ in Cosmedin, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum Cardinalem "Polum nuncupatum," sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum, authoritate sufficiente delegati, ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes,) specialiter delegati, et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet

[1 In the name of God, amen!—We, John Bishop of Lincoln, James Bishop of Gloucester, and John Bishop of Bristol, delegated by the most reverend Lord Reginald "surnamed Pole," by divine mercy Cardinal Deacon of St Mary in Cosmedin of the holy Roman Church, legate of our most Holy Father the Pope, and of the Apostolic See, to the most serene sovereigns of England, Philip and Mary, and to the whole realm of England,—with sufficient authority to inquire concerning a certain matter of inquisition of heretical pravity against Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley claiming to be respectively bishops of Worcester and London; for this cause being especially delegated with power of inquiring against either of them, we do [accordingly] accuse and specify against them jointly and severally as follows. Ed.]

inquirendo proponimus, et articulamur conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur[2].

1. We do object to thee, Nicholas Ridley, and to thee Hugh Latimer, jointly and severally; first, that thou Nicholas Ridley, in this high university of Oxford, anno 1554, in the months of April, May, June, July, or in some one or more of them, hast affirmed, and openly defended and maintained, and in many other times and places besides, that the true and natural body of Christ, after the consecration of the priest, is not really present in the sacrament of the altar.

2. Item, that in the year and months aforesaid, thou hast publicly affirmed and defended, that in the sacrament of the altar remaineth still the substance of bread and wine.

3. Item, that in the said year and months thou hast openly affirmed, and obstinately maintained, that in the mass is no propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

4. Item, that in the year, place, and months aforesaid, these thy foresaid assertions solemnly have been condemned by the scholastical censure of this school, as heretical and contrary to the catholic faith, by the worshipful Master Doctor Weston, prolocutor then of the convocation house, as also by other learned men of both the universities.

5. Item, that all and singular the premises be true, notorious, famous, and openly known by public fame, as well to them near hand, and also to them in distant places far off.

The Examination of Dr Ridley *upon the said Articles.*

All these articles I thought good here to place together, that as often as hereafter rehearsal shall be of any of them, the reader may have recourse hither, and peruse the same; and not to trouble the story with several repetitions thereof. After these articles were read, the bishops took counsel together. At the last the bishop of Lincoln said:

Lincoln:—"These are the very same articles which you, in open disputation here in the university, did maintain and defend. What say you unto the first? I pray you answer affirmatively or negatively."

[2] The articles here follow in Latin in the First Edition of Fox, page 1362, and will be found here in Appendix II.

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, I supposed your gentleness had been such, that you would have given me space until to-morrow, that, upon good advisement, I might bring a determinate answer."

Lincoln:—"Yea, Master Ridley, I mean not that your answers now shall be prejudicial to your answers to-morrow. I will take your answers at this time, and yet notwithstanding it shall be lawful to you to add, diminish, alter, and change of these answers to-morrow, what you will."

Ridley:—"Indeed, in like manner at our last disputations I had many things promised, and few performed. It was said, that after disputations I should have a copy thereof, and license to change mine answers, as I should think good. It was meet also, that I should have seen what was written by the notaries at that time. So your lordship pretended great gentleness in giving me a time; but this gentleness is the same that Christ had of the high priest. For you, as your lordship saith, have no power to condemn me, neither at any time to put a man to death: so, in like sort, the high priests said, that it was not lawful for them to put any man to death, but committed Christ to Pilate, neither would suffer him to absolve Christ, although he sought all the means therefore that he might."

The high priests had not power to put Christ to death, but they had power to commit him to Pilate, neither would they suffer him to absolve Christ.

Then spake Dr Weston, one of the audience:

Weston shooteth his bolt.

Weston:—"What! do you make the king Pilate?"

Ridley:—"No, master doctor; I do but compare your deeds with Caiaphas's deeds, and the high priests', which would condemn no man to death, as ye will not, and yet would not suffer Pilate to absolve and deliver Christ."

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, we mind not but that you shall enjoy the benefit of answering to-morrow, and will take your answers now as now; to-morrow you shall change, take out, add, and alter what you will. In the mean season we require you to answer directly to every article, either affirmatively or negatively."

The protestation of Ridley.

Ridley:—"Seeing you appoint me a time to answer to-morrow, and yet will take mine answers out of hand, first, I require the notaries to take and write my protestation, that in no point I acknowledge your authority, or admit

you to be my judges, in that point that you are authorized from the pope. Therefore, whatsoever I shall say or do, I protest, I neither say it neither do it willingly, thereby to admit the authority of the pope; and, if your lordship will give me leave, I will shew the causes which move me thereunto."

Lincoln:—"No, Master Ridley, we have instructions to the contrary. We may not suffer you."

Ridley:—"I will be short; I pray your lordships suffer me to speak in few words."

Lincoln:—"No, Master Ridley, we may not abuse the hearers' ears." Ridley not to speak.

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, suffer me to speak three words."

Lincoln:—"Well, Master Ridley, to-morrow you shall speak forty. The time is far past; therefore we require your answer determinately. What say you to the first article?"

And thereupon rehearsed the same.

Ridley:—"My protestation always saved, that by this mine answer I do not condescend to your authority in that you are legate to the pope, I answer thus: In a sense the first article is true, and in a sense it is false: for if you take *really* for *vere*, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy, then it is true that the natural body and blood of Christ is in the sacrament *vere et realiter*, indeed and really; but if you take these terms so grossly, that you would conclude thereby a natural body having motion to be contained under the forms of bread and wine, *vere et realiter*, then really is not the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament, no more than the Holy Ghost is in the element of water in our baptism." How the body of Christ may be said to be really, and how not really, in the sacrament.

Because this answer was not understood, the notaries wist not how to note it: wherefore the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer either affirmatively or negatively, either to grant the article, or to deny it.

Ridley:—"My lord, you know that where any *equivocation* (which is a word having two significations) is, except distinction be given, no direct answer can be made; for it

Two questions under one. The papists and protestants, in granting the presence, do agree: only in the manner of being, they differ.

How Christ may be in the sacrament, and how not.

is one of Aristotle's fallacies, containing two questions under one, the which cannot be satisfied with one answer. For both you and I agree herein, that in the sacrament is the very true and natural body and blood of Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin Mary, which ascended into heaven, which sitteth on the right hand of God the Father, which shall come from thence to judge the quick and the dead; only we differ *in modo*, in the way and manner of being: we confess all one thing to be in the sacrament, and dissent in the manner of being there. I, being fully by God's word thereunto persuaded, confess Christ's natural body to be in the sacrament indeed by spirit and grace, because that whosoever receiveth worthily that bread and wine, receiveth effectuously Christ's body, and drinketh his blood (that is, he is made effectually partaker of his passion); and you make a grosser kind of being, enclosing a natural, a lively, and a moving body, under the shape or form of bread and wine. Now, this difference considered, to the question thus I answer, that in the sacrament of the altar is the natural body and blood of Christ *vere et realiter*, indeed and really, for spiritually, by grace and efficacy; for so every worthy receiver receiveth the very true body of Christ. But if you mean really and indeed, so that thereby you would include a lively and a moveable body under the forms of bread and wine, then, in that sense, is not Christ's body in the sacrament really and indeed."

This answer taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln proposed the second question or article. To whom he answered:

What change is in the sacramental bread.

Ridley:—"Always my protestation reserved, I answer thus; that in the sacrament is a certain change, in that that bread, which was before common bread, is now made a lively presentation of Christ's body, and not only a figure, but effectuously representeth his body; that even as the mortal body was nourished by that visible bread, so is the internal soul fed with the heavenly food of Christ's body, which the eyes of faith see, as the bodily eyes see only bread. Such a sacramental mutation I grant to be in the bread and wine, which truly is no small change, but such a change as no

Bread and wine not changed.

mortal man can make, but only that omnipotency of Christ's word."

Then the bishop of Lincoln willed him to answer directly, either affirmatively or negatively, without further declaration of the matter. Then he answered:

Ridley:—"That notwithstanding this sacramental mutation of the which he spake, and all the doctors confessed, the true substance and nature of bread and wine remaineth: with the which the body is in like sort nourished, as the soul is by grace and Spirit with the body of Christ. Even so in baptism the body is washed with the visible water, and the soul is cleansed from all filth by the invisible Holy Ghost; and yet the water ceaseth not to be water, but keepeth the nature of water still: in like sort, in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper the bread ceaseth not to be bread." Comparison between the communion and baptism.

Then the notaries penned, that he answered affirmatively to the second article. The bishop of Lincoln declared a difference between the sacrament of the altar and baptism, because that Christ said not by the water, "This is the Holy Ghost," as he did by the bread, "This is my body." Difference put between the communion and baptism.

Then Master Ridley recited St Augustine, who conferred both the sacraments the one with the other: but the bishop of Lincoln notwithstanding thereupon recited the third article, and required a direct answer. To whom Ridley said:

Ridley:—"Christ, as St Paul writeth, made one perfect sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, neither can any man reiterate that sacrifice of his; and yet is the communion an acceptable sacrifice to God of praise and thanksgiving. But to say that thereby sins are taken away (which wholly and perfectly was done by Christ's passion, of the which the communion is only a memory), that is a great derogations of the merits of Christ's passion: for the sacrament was instituted, that we, receiving it, and thereby recognising and remembering his passion, should be partakers of the merits of the same. For otherwise doth this sacrament take upon it the office of Christ's passion, whereby it might follow, that Christ died in vain." Answer to the third article. Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass is a derogation to Christ's passion.

The notaries penned this his answer to be affirmatively. Then said the bishop of Lincoln:

Unbloody sacrifice.

Lincoln:—"Indeed, as you allege out of St Paul, Christ made one perfect oblation for all the whole world, that is, that bloody sacrifice upon the cross: yet nevertheless he hath left this sacrifice, but not bloody, in the remembrance of that by the which sins are forgiven; the which is no derogation of Christ's passion."

Answer to the fourth article.

Then recited the bishop of Lincoln the fourth article. To the which Master Ridley answered, that in some part the fourth was true, and in some part false; true, in that those his assertions were condemned as heresies, although unjustly; false, in that it was said they were condemned *scientia scholastica*, in that the disputations were in such sort ordered, that it was far from any school act.

This answer penned of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln rehearsed the fifth article. To the which Ridley answered, that the premises were in such sort true, as in these his answers he had declared. Whether that all men spake evil of them, he knew not, in that he came not so much abroad to hear what every man reported.

This answer also written of the notaries, the bishop of Lincoln said:

Ridley assigned to appear again the next day.

Lincoln:—"To-morrow, at eight of the clock, you shall appear before us in St Mary's church; and then, because we cannot well agree upon your answer to the first article [for it was long before he was understood], if it will please you to write your answer, you shall have pen, ink, and paper, and books, such as you shall require: but if you write any thing saving your answers to these articles, we will not receive it."

So he, charging the mayor with him, declaring also to the mayor that he should suffer him to have a pen and ink, dismissed Master Ridley, and sent for Master Latimer, who, being brought to the divinity school, there tarried till they called for him.

Here followeth the Second Day's Session.

The next day following (which was the first day of October), somewhat after eight of the clock, the said lords repaired to St Mary's church; and after they were set in a high throne well trimmed with cloth of tissue and silk, then appeared Master Ridley, who was set at a framed table a good space from the bishop's feet, which table had a silk cloth cast over it, the which place was compassed about with framed seats in quadrate form, partly for gentlemen which repaired thither (for this was the session day also of gaol-delivery) and heads of the university to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the audience: for the whole body, as well of the university as of the town, came thither to see the end of these two persons. After Master Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the audience, the bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Ridley's appearance before the deputies.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused yourself of that whereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your cap for any obstinacy towards us, which as touching our own persons desired no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful audience, which, although they justly may, yet in this case require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honour to my lord cardinal's grace, in that he is descended from the regal blood, in that he is a man most noble, both for his excellent qualities and singular learning: for, as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honour, reverence, and worship his grace; but in that he is legate to the most reverend father in God the pope's holiness [with that the bishop and all then present put off their caps, but Master Ridley moved not his] you said you neither could nor would by any means be induced to give him honour; but forasmuch as this is the point, as we told you yesterday, why we require honour and reverence of you, we tell you now as we did then, except you take the pains to move your bonnet, we will take the pains to

The words of Master White, bishop of Lincoln, to Ridley, about his cap.

Capping again at the name of the pope.

cause your bonnet to be taken from you, except you pretend sickness, as yesterday you did not."

Ridley refuseth to put off his cap to the pope, or to them which come from the pope.

Ridley:—"I pretend now none other cause, than I did yesterday; that is, only that hereby it may appear that not only in word and confession, but also by all my gesture and behaviour, in no point I agree or admit any authority or power that shall come from the pope; and not for any pride of mind (as God is my judge), neither for contempt of your lordships or of this worshipful audience, neither for derogation of honour due to my lord cardinal's grace as concerning those points which your lordship spake of; that is, his noble parentage and singular graces in learning. And as for taking my cap away, your lordship may do as it shall please you; it shall not offend me, but I shall be content with your ordinance in that behalf."

Lincoln:—"Forasmuch as you do answer now as you did yesterday, we must do also as we did then:" and forthwith one of his beadles very hastily snatched his cap from his head.

After this the bishop of Lincoln began the examination in sense following:

The former examination of Ridley. The words of the bishop of Lincoln.

Lincoln:—"Master Ridley, yesterday we took your answer to certain articles, which we then proposed unto you: but because we could not be thoroughly satisfied with your answer then to the first article, neither could the notaries take any determinate answer of you, we (you requiring the same) granted you license to bring your answer in writing, and thereupon commanded the mayor that you should have pen, paper and ink, yea any books also that you would require, if they were to be gotten: we licensed you then also to alter your former answers this day at your pleasure. Therefore we are come now hither, to see whether you are in the same mind now that you were in yesterday (which we would not wish), or contrary, contented to revoke all your former assertions, and in all points consent to submit yourself to the determination of the universal church; and I for my part most earnestly exhort you [and therewith he put off his cap], not because my conscience pricketh me, as you said yesterday, but because I see you a rotten member, and

in the way of perdition. Yesterday I brought forth amongst others St Augustine, to prove that authority hath always been given to the see of Rome, and you wrested the words far contrary to St Augustine's meaning, in that you would have 'totus mundus' to be applied only to Europe, which is but the third part of all the world[1]: whereas, indeed, the process of St Augustine's words, will not admit that your interpretation; for he saith not 'totus mundus Christianus in transmarinis,' &c., but first 'totus mundus Christianus Romanæ ecclesiæ subjectus est:' 'all the christian world is subject to the church of Rome,' and afterwards addeth, 'in transmarinis partibus,' 'beyond the sea,' but only to augment the dominion of the see of Rome."

The place of St Augustine again repeated, 'Totus mundus.'

But Master Ridley still persevered in his former answer, saying;

"I am sure, my lord, you have some skill in cosmography, in the which you shall understand that there is a sea called 'Mare Mediterraneum,' cast between Europe and Africa, in the which be meant Europe beyond the sea; even as I should say the whole world beyond the sea, excepting England in the which I stand."

And here many words were spent upon the interpretation of the same place of St Augustine. After long disceptation, the bishop of Lincoln said, that the meaning of St Augustine might be known by the consent of other the doctors; and rehearsed divers. But Master Ridley required the rehearsal of the places, and to read the very words of the doctors, saying, that perhaps those which the bishop rehearsed, being proponed in other terms in the doctors, would admit a contrary meaning and interpretation: but in that book, out of the which the bishop rehearsed them, were none of the doctors, but only the sentences drawn out of the

How the catholics use to allege the doctors.

[1 America was discovered by Columbus Aug. 4, 1498, but was not for some time regarded as a fourth quarter of the world. Fox, about 1566, makes the following remark, "The world being divided commonly into three parts, Asia, Africa, and Europe Asia is counted to be the greatest in compass, containing as much as both the others." (Ed. 1836, vol. iv. p. 83.) Ed.]

doctors by some studious man: he could not recite the very words of the doctors.

A place of Cyril alleged by Melancthon.

Then after, Lincoln came to Cyril, which (as he said) made against Master Ridley in the sacrament, even by Philip Melancthon's own alleging in his Common Places[1]; and forthwith he called for Melancthon, but in vain, because all such books were burned a little before[2]: wherefore he passed it over.

"Argumentum a contrario sensu ex Cyrillo contra Judæos." Altars be erected in Christ's remembrance in Britain: Ergo, Christ is come. Altars be now plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come. Answer: This argument is not "a sensu contrario:" for erecting of altars in the antecedent, and plucking down altars in the consequent, be not contrary. In the antecedent, Cyril meaneth the table, or else the celebration of the Lord's supper in his remem-

"Cyril also, in another place, proving to the Jews that Christ was come, useth this reason, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name in Britain, and in far countries: Ergo, Christ is come.' But we may use the contrary of that reason, 'Altars are plucked down in Britain: Ergo, Christ is not come.' A good argument *a contrariis*. I will stand to it in the schools by and by with any man. Ye see what a good argument this your doctrine maketh for the Jews, to prove that Christ is not come."

Dr Ridley smiling answered, "Your lordship is not ignorant that this word 'altare,' in the Scripture, signifieth as well the altar whereupon the Jews were wont to make their burnt sacrifices, as the table of the Lord's supper. Cyril meaneth there by this word 'altare,' not the Jewish altar, but the table of the Lord, and by that saying, 'Altars are erected in Christ's name: Ergo, Christ is come,' he meaneth that the communion is ministered in his remembrance: Ergo, Christ is come. For the strength of his argument is, because the remembrance of a thing cannot be except itself be past: then could not all countries celebrate the communion in remembrance of Christ's passion, except Christ had been come

[1 The "Loci Communes rerum Theol., seu Hypotyposes Theologicæ," first published at Wittenberg, 1521 (of which the second in 1522 has been consulted), does not mention the name of Cyril or any other under the head "De cœna Domini." They seem to have been written at first without alleging testimonies: these were afterwards added. Ed.]

[2 This refers to a "proclamation set out by the King and Queen for the restraining of all books and writings tending against the doctrine of the Pope and his church": it is dated, Hampton Court, June 13, 1555. It is given by Fox (Ed. 1836, vol. vii. p. 127), and by Wilkins (Concilia, tom. iv. p. 198). Melancthon's name is specified in the proclamation, among many others. Ed.]

and suffered. As for the taking down of the altars, it was done upon just considerations, for that they seemed to come too nigh to the Jews' usage: neither was the supper of the Lord at any time better ministered, [or] more duly received, than in those latter days when all things were brought to the rites and usage of the primitive church."

brance. In the consequent, by plucking down of altars, is meant the taking away of places and monuments serving not to the Lord's supper, but to idolatry, whereby the true table of the Lord's supper, in his remembrance, may be erected again.

Lincoln:—"A goodly receiving, I promise you, to set an oyster table instead of an altar, and to come from puddings at Westminster, to receive: and yet, when your table was constituted, you could never be content, in placing the same now east, now north, now one way, now another, until it pleased God of his goodness to place it clean out of the church."

Ridley:—"Your lordship's unreverend terms do not elevate the thing. Perhaps some men came more devoutly from puddings, than other men now do from other things."

Bishop White blasphemously calleth the board of the Lord's supper an oyster table.

Lincoln:—"As for that, Master Ridley, you ought to be judge of no man: but by this your reasoning you cause us to stretch and enlarge our instructions. We came not to reason, but to take your determinate answers to our articles;" and eftsoons he read the first article in manner above specified. "Now, Master Ridley, what say you to the first article? If you have brought your answer in writing, we will receive it: but if you have written any other matter, we will not receive it."

The articles read again to Ridley; he not suffered to read his own.

Then Master Ridley took a sheet of paper out of his bosom, and began to read that which he had written: but the bishop of Lincoln commanded the beadle to take it from him. But he desired license to read it, saying that it was nothing but his answer, but the bishop would in no wise suffer him.

Ridley:—"Why, my lord, will you require my answer, and not suffer me to publish it? I beseech you, my lord, let the audience bear witness in this matter. Your lordships may handle it at your pleasure: therefore let the audience be witness to your doings."

Lincoln:—"Well, Master Ridley, we will first see what you have written, and then, if we shall think it good to be read, you shall have it published; but except you will deliver it first, we will take none at all of you."

With that Master Ridley, seeing no remedy, delivered it to an officer, who immediately delivered it to the bishop of Lincoln, who, after he had secretly communicated it to the other two bishops, declared the sense, but would not read it as it was written, saying, that it contained words of blasphemy; therefore he would not fill the ears of the audience therewithal, and so abuse their patience. Notwithstanding Master Ridley desired very instantly to have it published, saying that, except a line or two, there was nothing contained but the ancient doctors' sayings, for the confirmation of his assertion.

After the said bishops had secretly viewed the whole, then the bishop of Lincoln said:—

Lincoln:—"In the first part, Master Ridley, is nothing contained but your protestation, that you would not have these your answers so to be taken as though you seemed thereby to consent to the authority or jurisdiction of the pope's holiness."

Ridley:—"No, my lord, I pray you read it out that the audience may hear it."

But the bishop of Lincoln would in no wise, because (he said) there were contained words of blasphemy.

First article. Then the bishop of Lincoln recited the first article, and required Master Ridley's answer to it. Then Master Ridley said, that his answer was there in writing, and desired that it might be published: but the bishop would not read the whole, but here and there a piece of it. So the notaries took his answer, that he referred him to his answer in writing exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation, Master doctor Weston being prolocutor.

Second article. In like wise the bishop of Lincoln recited the second article, and required an answer, and Master Ridley referred him to his answer in writing, exhibited now, and also before at the time of disputation: and like answers were taken to all the residue of the articles.

These answers in this manner rehearsed, taken and penned of the notaries, the bishop of Gloucester began an exhortation to move Master Ridley to turn.

Gloucester:—"If you would once empty your stomach, captivate your senses, subdue your reason, and together with us consider what a feeble ground of your religion you have, I do not doubt but you might easily be induced to acknowledge one church with us, to confess one faith with us, and to believe one religion with us. For what a weak and feeble stay in religion is this, I pray you? Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit: so that if you overthrew the singularity of Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also. You remember well, Master Ridley, that the prophet speaketh most truly, saying, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe be to them which are singular and wise in their own conceits.' The words of exhortation of Brooks to Ridley.

"But you will say here, 'It is true that the prophet saith: but how know you that I am wise in mine own conceit?' Yes, Master Ridley, you refuse the determination of the catholic church; you must needs be singular and wise in your own conceit, for you bring Scripture for the probation of your assertions, and we also bring Scriptures; you understand them in one sense, and we in another. How will you know the truth herein? If you stand to your own interpretation, then you are singular in your own conceit: but if you say you will follow the minds of the doctors and ancient fathers, semblably you understand them in one meaning, and we take them in another. How will ye know the truth herein? If you stand to your own judgment, then are you singular in your own conceit; then can you not avoid the 'væ' and 'woe' which the prophet speaketh of. Wherefore if you have no stay but the catholic church in matters of controversy, except you will rest upon the singularity and wisdom of your own brain, if the prophet most truly saith, 'Væ, væ,' 'Woe, woe be to them that are wise in their own conceit;' then, for God's love, Master Ridley, stand not singular; be not you wise in your own conceit; please not yourself over much. How were the Arians, the Manichees, Eutychians, with other divers heretics which have been in the church,—how, I pray you, were they suppressed and convinced? By reasoning and disputations? No, truly, the Arians had no more places of Scripture for the con-

firmation of their heresy, than the catholics for the defence of the truth. How then were they convinced? Only by the determination of the church. And indeed, except we do constitute the church our foundation, stay, and judge, we can have no end of controversies, no end of disputations. For in that we all bring Scriptures and doctors for the probation of our assertions, who should be judge of this our controversy? If we ourselves, then, be singular and wise in our own conceits, then cannot we avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of.

The determination of the church is only that, whereupon our catholic men do ground their faith.

"It remaineth therefore that we submit ourselves to the determination and arbitrement of the church; with whom God promised to remain to the world's end; to whom he promised to send the Holy Ghost, which should teach it the truth. Wherefore, Master Ridley, if you will avoid the woe that the prophet speaketh of, be not you wise in your judgment: if you will not be wise and singular in your own judgment, captivate your own understanding, subdue your reason, and submit yourself to the determination of the church."

This is briefly the sum of the oration of the bishop of Gloucester, by the which he endeavoured in many more words, amplifying and enlarging the matter eloquently with sundry points of rhetoric to move affections, to persuade Master Ridley to recant and forsake his religion.

A brief answer of Ridley to bishop Brooks's tale.

To whom Master Ridley answered in few words, that he said most truly with the prophet, "Woe be to him that is wise in his own conceit;" but that he acknowledgeth no such singularity in himself, nor knew any cause why he should attribute so much to himself. And whereas he, the bishop of Gloucester, said Master Cranmer leaned to him, that was most untrue, in that he was but a young scholar in comparison of Master Cranmer; for at what time he was a young scholar, then was Master Cranmer a doctor; so that he confessed that Master Cranmer might have been his schoolmaster these many years. It seemed that he would have spoken more, but the bishop of Gloucester interrupted him, saying:—

Gloucester:—"Why, Master Ridley, it is your own confession; for Master Latimer, at the time of his disputation,

confessed his learning to lie in Master Cranmer's books, and Master Cranmer also said, that it was your doing."

Likewise the bishop of Lincoln, with many words, and gently holding his cap in his hand, desired him to turn. But Master Ridley made an absolute answer, that he was fully persuaded the religion which he defended to be grounded upon God's word; and therefore, without great offence towards God, great peril and damage of his soul, he could not forsake his master and Lord God, but desired the bishop to perform his grant, in that his lordship said the day before, that he should have license to shew his cause why he could not with a safe conscience admit the authority of the pope. But the bishop of Lincoln said, that whereas then he had demanded license to speak three words, he was contented then that he should speak forty, and that grant he would perform.

Ridley could not for his conscience yield to the pope's doctrine.

Then stepped forth Dr Weston, who sat by, and said, "Why, my lord, he hath spoken four hundred already." Master Ridley confessed he had, but they were not of his prescribed number, neither of that matter. The bishop of Lincoln bade him take his license; but he should speak but forty, and he would tell them upon his fingers. And eftsoons Master Ridley began to speak: but before he had ended half a sentence, the doctors sitting by cried and said, that his number was out; and with that he was put to silence.

Weston shooteth his bolt.

Ridley limited no more but forty words to speak.

Note, reader, the extreme dealing of the papists.

After this the bishop of Lincoln, who sat in the midst, began to speak as followeth:

Lincoln:—"Now I perceive, Master Ridley, you will not permit nor suffer us to stay in that point of our commission which we most desired: for I assure you, there is never a word in our commission more true than 'dolentes et gementes:' for indeed I for my part (I take God to witness) am sorry for you."

Whereunto Master Ridley answered, "I believe it well, my lord, forasmuch as one day it will be burdenous to your soul."

Lincoln:—"Nay, not so, Master Ridley, but because I am sorry to see such stubbornness in you, that by no means you may be persuaded to acknowledge your errors, and receive

the truth. But, seeing it is so, because you will not suffer us to persist in the first, we must of necessity proceed to the other part of our commission. Therefore I pray you, hearken what I shall say."

And forthwith he did read the sentence of condemnation, which was written in a long process: the tenor of which, because it is sufficiently already expressed before[1], we thought meet in this place to omit, forasmuch as they are rather words of course, than things devised upon deliberation. Howbeit indeed the effect was as this:

"That forasmuch as the said Nicholas Ridley did affirm, maintain, and stubbornly defend certain opinions, assertions, and heresies, contrary to the word of God, and the received faith of the church, as in denying the true and natural body of Christ, and his natural blood to be in the sacrament of the altar; Secondarily, in affirming the substance of bread and wine to remain after the words of the consecration; Thirdly, in denying the mass to be a lively sacrifice of the church for the quick and the dead; and by no means would be induced and brought from these his heresies: they therefore (the said John of Lincoln, James of Gloucester, John of Bristol,) did judge and condemn the said Nicholas Ridley as a heretic, and so adjudged him presently, both by word and also in deed, to be degraded from the degree of a bishop, from priesthood, and all ecclesiastical orders; declaring moreover the said Nicholas Ridley to be no member of the church: and therefore committed him to the secular powers, of them to receive due punishment according to the tenor of the temporal laws; and further excommunicating him by the great excommunication."

A Communication between Dr Brooks, *and* Dr Ridley, *in the house of* Master Irish, *the* 15*th day of October, at which time he was degraded.*

In the mean season upon the 15th day in the morning and the same year abovesaid, Dr Brooks, the bishop of Gloucester, and the vice-chancellor of Oxford, Dr Marshal, with divers other of the chief and heads of the same uni-

[1] Fox refers to the degradation of Hooper previously related. Ed.]

versity, and many others accompanying them, came unto Master Irish's house, then mayor of Oxford, where Dr Ridley, late bishop of London, was close prisoner. And when the bishop of Gloucester came into the chamber where the said Dr Ridley did lie, he told him for what purpose their coming was unto him, saying, that yet once again the queen's majesty did offer unto him, by them, her gracious mercy, if that he would receive the same, and come home again to the faith which he was baptized in, and revoke his erroneous doctrine that he of late had taught abroad to the destruction of many. And further said, that if he would not recant and become one of the catholic church with them, then they must needs, against their wills, proceed according to the law, which they would be very loth to do, if they might otherwise.

No mercy to be had without consenting to iniquity.

"But," saith he, "we have been oftentimes with you, and have requested that you would recant this your fantastical and devilish opinion, which hitherto you have not, although you might in so doing win many, and do much good. Therefore, good Master Ridley, consider with yourself the danger that shall ensue, both of body and soul, if that you shall so wilfully cast yourself away in refusing mercy offered unto you at this time."

"My lord," quoth Dr Ridley, "you know my mind fully herein; and as for the doctrine which I have taught, my conscience assureth me that it was sound, and according to God's word (to his glory be it spoken); the which doctrine, the Lord God being my helper, I will maintain so long as my tongue shall wag, and breath is within my body, and in confirmation thereof seal the same with my blood."

Answer of Ridley to Dr Brooks. O worthy champion of Christ's church.

Gloucester:—"Well, you were best, Master Ridley, not to do so, but to become one of the church with us: for you know this well enough, that whosoever is out of the catholic church, cannot be saved. Therefore I say once again, that while you have time and mercy offered you, receive it, and confess with us the pope's holiness to be the chief head of the same church."

With that their caps went off, but Dr Ridley held on his cap.

Ridley:—"I marvel that you will trouble me with any such vain and foolish talk. You know my mind concerning

the usurped authority of that Romish antichrist. As I confessed openly in the schools, so do I now, that both by my behaviour and talk I do no obedience at all unto the bishop of Rome, nor to his usurped authority, and that for divers good and godly considerations."

Ridley commanded to silence, when otherwise he could not be convinced.

And here Dr Ridley would have reasoned with the said Brooks, bishop of Gloucester, of the bishop of Rome's authority, but could not be suffered; and yet he spake so earnestly against the pope therein, that the bishop told him, if he would not hold his peace, he should be compelled against his will. "And seeing," saith he, "that you will not receive the queen's mercy now offered unto you, but stubbornly refuse the same, we must, against our wills, proceed according to our commission to degrading, taking from you the dignity of priesthood. For we take you for no bishop, and therefore we will the sooner have done with you. So, committing you to the secular power, you know what doth follow."

Ridley:—"Do with me as it shall please God to suffer you; I am well content to abide the same with all my heart."

Gloucester:—"Put off your cap, Master Ridley, and put upon you this surplice."

Ridley refuseth to put on the surplice.

Ridley:—"Not I, truly."

Gloucester:—"But you must."

Ridley:—"I will not."

Gloucester:—"You must therefore make no more ado, but put this surplice upon you."

Ridley:—"Truly, if it come upon me, it shall be against my will."

Gloucester:—"Will you not do it upon you?"

Ridley:—"No, that I will not."

Gloucester:—"It shall be put upon you by one or other."

Ridley:—"Do therein as it shall please you; I am well contented with that, and more than that; 'the servant is not above his master.' If they dealt so cruelly with our Saviour Christ, as the Scripture maketh mention, and he suffered the same patiently, how much more doth it become us his servants!"

Ridley inveigheth against the bishop of Rome and his foolish apparel.

And in saying of these words, they put upon the said Dr Ridley the surplice, with all the trinkets appertaining to the mass. And as they were putting on the same, Dr Ridley did vehemently inveigh against the Romish bishop and all that foolish apparel, calling him antichrist, and the apparel foolish and abominable, yea, too fond for a vice in a play; insomuch that bishop Brooks was exceeding angry with him, and bade him hold his peace, for he did but rail. Dr Ridley answered him again, and said, so long as his tongue and breath would suffer him, he would speak against their abominable doings, whatsoever happened unto him for so doing.

Gloucester:—"Well, you were best to hold your peace, lest your mouth be stopped."

Master Edridge giveth counsel, that Ridley should be gagged.

At which words one Edridge, the reader then of the Greek lecture, standing by, said to Dr Brooks; "Sir, the law is, he should be gagged; therefore let him be gagged." At which words Dr Ridley, looking earnestly upon him that so said, wagged his head at him, and made no answer again, but with a sigh said, "Oh well, well, well!" So they proceeded in their doings; yet nevertheless Dr Ridley was ever talking things not pleasant to their ears, although one or other bade him hold his peace, lest he should be caused against his will.

Degrading of Ridley.

Ridley would not let come in his hand the chalice and wafer-cake.

When they came to that place where Dr Ridley should hold the chalice and the wafer-cake, called the singing-bread, they bade him hold the same in his hands. And Dr Ridley said, "They shall not come in my hands; for if they do, they shall fall to the ground for all me." Then there was one appointed to hold them in his hand, while bishop Brooks read a certain thing in Latin, touching the degradation of spiritual persons according to the pope's law.

Ridley degraded from preaching.

Afterward they put a book in his hand, and withal read (as is before said) a certain thing in Latin, the effect whereof was: "We do take from you the office of preaching the gospel," &c. At which words Dr Ridley gave a great sigh, looking up towards heaven, saying, "O Lord God, forgive them this their wickedness!" And as they put upon him the mass gear, so they began with the uppermost garment,

in taking it away again reading a thing in Latin, according to the order contained in the said book of the pope's law. Now when all was taken from him, saving only the surplice left on his back, as they were reading and taking it away, Dr Ridley said unto them, "Lord God, what power be you of, that you can take from a man that which he never had! I was never singer in all my life, and yet you will take from me that which I never had."

All the glittering of antichrist's kingdom consisteth in apish toys.

So when all this their abominable and ridiculous degradation was ended very solemnly, Dr Ridley said unto Dr Brooks, "Have you done? If you have done, then give me leave to talk with you a little concerning these matters." Brooks answered and said, "Master Ridley, we may not talk with you; you be out of the church, and our law is, that we may not talk with any that be out of the church." Then Master Ridley said, "Seeing that you will not suffer me to talk, neither will vouchsafe to hear me, what remedy but patience? I refer my cause to my heavenly Father, who will reform things that be amiss, when it shall please him." At which words they would have been gone, but Master Ridley said, "My lord, I would wish that your lordship would vouchsafe to read over and peruse a little book of Bertram's doings, concerning the sacrament. I promise you, you shall find much good learning therein, if you will read the same with an indifferent judgment." Dr Brooks made no answer to this, but would have been gone away. Then Master Ridley said,

A praise of Bertram's book upon the Sacrament.

"Oh, I perceive that you cannot away with this manner of talk. Well! it boots not, I will say no more, I will speak of worldly affairs. I pray you therefore, my lord, hear me, and be a mean to the queen's majesty in the behalf of a great many of poor men, and especially for my poor sister and her husband which standeth there. They had a poor living granted unto them by me, whiles I was in the see of London, and the same is taken away from them by him that now occupieth the same room, without all law or conscience. Here I have a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. You shall hear the same read, so shall you perceive the matter the better."

Note the charity of papists.

This bishop was doctor Bonner.

Then he read the same[1]; and, when he came to the place in the supplication, that touched his sister by name, then he wept, so that for a little space he could not speak for weeping. After that he had left off weeping, he said, "This is nature that moveth me, but I have now done." And with that he read out the rest, and delivered the same to his brother, commanding him to put it up to the queen's majesty, and to sue, not only for himself, but also for such as had any leases or grants by him, and were put from the same by Dr Bonner, then bishop of London. Whereunto Brooks said, "Indeed, Master Ridley, your request in this supplication is very lawful and honest: therefore I must needs in conscience speak to the queen's majesty for them." Ridley's sister put from her lease by Bonner.

Ridley:—"I pray you, for God's sake, do so."

Gloucester:—"I think your request will be granted, except one thing let it; and that is, I fear, because you do not allow the queen's proceedings, but obstinately withstand the same, that it will hardly be granted."

Ridley:—"What remedy? I can do no more but speak and write. I trust I have discharged my conscience herein; and God's will be done."

Gloucester:—"I will do what lieth in me."

This degradation being past, and all things finished, Dr Brooks called the bailiffs, delivering to them Master Ridley with this charge, to keep him safely from any man speaking with him, and that he should be brought to the place of execution when they were commanded. Then Master Ridley in praising God burst out with these words, and said, "God, I thank thee, and to thy praise be it spoken, there is none of you all able to lay to my charge any open or notorious crime; for if you could, it should surely be laid in my lap, I see very well." Whereunto Brooks said, he played the part of a proud Pharisee, exalting and praising himself. But Master Ridley said, "No, no, no, as I have said before, to God's glory be it spoken. I confess myself to be a miserable wretched sinner, and have great need of God's help and mercy, and do daily call and cry for the same: therefore, I pray you, have no such opinion of me." Then they departed, Ridley could not with any notorious crime be charged.

[1] This supplication will be found among the letters. Ed.]

and in going away a certain warden of a college, of whose name I am not very sure[1], bade Dr Ridley repent him, and forsake that erroneous opinion. Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Sir, repent you, for you are out of the truth. And I pray God (if it be his blessed will) have mercy upon you, and grant you the understanding of his word." Then the warden, being in a chafe thereat, said, "I trust that I shall never be of your erroneous and devilish opinion, neither yet to be in that place whither you shall go. He is," saith he, "the most obstinate and wilful man that ever I heard talk since I was born."

The behaviour of Dr Ridley *at his Supper, the night before his suffering.*

Ridley biddeth guests to his marriage.

The night before he suffered, his beard was washed and his legs; and as he sat at supper the same night at Master Irish's (who was his keeper), he bade his hostess, and the rest at the board, to his marriage; "for," said he, "to-morrow I must be married:" and so shewed himself to be as merry as ever he was at any time before. And wishing his sister at his marriage, he asked his brother sitting at the table, whether she could find in her heart to be there or no. And he answered, "Yea, I dare say, with all her heart:" at which word he said, he was glad to hear of her so much therein. So at this talk Mistress Irish wept.

Mrs Irish, a great papist before, weepeth for Dr Ridley.

But Master Ridley comforted her, and said, "O Mrs Irish, you love me not now, I see well enough; for in that you weep, it doth appear you will not be at my marriage, neither are content therewith. Indeed you be not so much my friend, as I thought you had been. But quiet yourself: though my breakfast shall be somewhat sharp and painful.

[1 Fox, in his first edition, has a note, "this was one Master Warner, as I remember." This note, in subsequent editions, was expunged, and it would appear with reason; for the Dr Warner in question was probably the warden of All Souls. (See Wood's Fasti, in his Athenæ Oxonienses.) Dr Warner was warden before the reign of Mary, and afterwards; for he was a Protestant, and was on that ground deprived of his office during the reign of Mary. It is therefore hardly likely that such a man would have used the words here attributed to him. Ed.]

yet I am sure my supper shall be more pleasant and sweet," &c.

When they arose from the table, his brother offered him to watch all night with him. But he said, "No, no, that you shall not. For I mind (God willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly to-night, as ever I did in my life." So his brother departed, exhorting him to be of good cheer, and to take his cross quietly, for the reward was great, &c. Ridley without care at his death.

The behaviour of Dr Ridley *and* Master Latimer, *at the time of their death, which was the 16th of October, 1555.*

Upon the north side of the town, in the ditch over against Balliol college, the place of execution was appointed; and for fear of any tumult that might arise, to let[a] the burning of them, the lord Williams was commanded, by the queen's letters, and the householders of the city, to be there assistant, sufficiently appointed. And when every thing was in a readiness, the prisoners were brought forth by the mayor and the bailiffs. [a] hinder.

Master Ridley had a fair black gown furred, and faced with foins, such as he was wont to wear being bishop, and a tippet of velvet furred[2] likewise about his neck, a velvet night-cap upon his head, and a corner cap upon the same, going in a pair of slippers to the stake, and going between the mayor and an alderman, &c.

After him came Master Latimer in a poor Bristol frieze frock all worn, with his buttoned cap, and a kerchief on his head, all ready to the fire, a new long shroud hanging over his hose down to the feet: which at the first sight stirred men's hearts to rue upon them, beholding on the one side the honour they sometime had, and on the other the calamity whereunto they were fallen.

Master doctor Ridley, as he passed toward Bocardo, looked up where Master Cranmer did lie, hoping belike to have seen him at the glass window, and to have spoken unto him. But then Master Cranmer was busy with friar Soto and his fellows, disputing together, so that he could not see him, through that Ridley and Latimer brought together to the stake.

[2 "With a tippet of sables." Edit. 1563. Ed.]

occasion. Then Master Ridley, looking back, espied Master Latimer coming after, unto whom he said, "Oh, be ye there?" "Yea," said Master Latimer, "have after as fast as I can follow." So he following a pretty way off, at length they came both to the stake, the one after the other; where first Dr Ridley entering the place, marvellous earnestly holding up both his hands, looked towards heaven. Then shortly after espying Master Latimer, with a wondrous cheerful look he ran to him, embraced and kissed him; and, as they that stood near reported, comforted him, saying, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the flame, or else strengthen us to abide it."

Behaviour of Ridley and Latimer at the stake.

With that went he to the stake, kneeled down by it, kissed it, and effectually prayed; and behind him Master Latimer kneeled, as earnestly calling upon God as he. After they arose, the one talked with the other a little while, till they which were appointed to see the execution, removed themselves out of the sun. What they said I can learn of no man.

Then Dr Smith, of whose recantation in king Edward's time ye heard before, began his sermon to them upon this text of St Paul, "If I yield my body to the fire to be burnt, and have not charity, I shall gain nothing thereby[1]." Wherein he alleged that the goodness of the cause, and not the order of death, maketh the holiness of the person; which he confirmed by the examples of Judas, and of a woman in Oxford that of late hanged herself, for that they, and such like as he recited, might then be adjudged righteous, which desperately sundered their lives from their bodies, as he feared that those men that stood before him would do. But he cried still to the people to beware of them, for they were heretics, and died out of the church. And on the other side, he declared their diversity in opinions, as Lutherans, Œcolampadians, Zuinglians, of which sect they were, he said, and that was the worst: but the old church of Christ and the catholic faith believed far otherwise. At which place they lifted up both their hands and eyes to heaven, as it were calling God to witness of the truth: the which countenance they made in many other places

Dr Smith preaching at the burning of Ridley and Latimer.

Dr Smith raileth against the martyrs.

Christ's congregation burdened with diversity of opinions.

[1] "Si corpus meum tradam igni, charitatem autem non habeam, nihil inde utilitatis capio." 1 Cor. xiii.

of his sermon, where they thought he spake amiss. He ended with a very short exhortation to them to recant, and come home again to the church, and save their lives and souls, which else were condemned. His sermon was scant; in all, a quarter of an hour.

Dr Ridley said to Master Latimer, "Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?" Master Latimer said, "Begin you first, I pray you." "I will," said Master Ridley.

Then, the wicked sermon being ended, Dr Ridley and Master Latimer kneeled down upon their knees towards my lord Williams of Thame, the vice-chancellor of Oxford, and divers other commissioners appointed for that purpose, who sat upon a form thereby; unto whom Master Ridley said, "I beseech you, my lord, even for Christ's sake, that I may speak but two or three words." And whilst my lord bent his head to the mayor and vice-chancellor, to know (as it appeared) whether he might give him leave to speak, the bailiffs and Dr Marshall, vice-chancellor, ran hastily unto him, and with their hands stopped his mouth, and said, "Master Ridley, if you will revoke your erroneous opinions, and recant the same, you shall not only have liberty so to do, but also the benefit of a subject; that is, have your life." "Not otherwise?" said Master Ridley, "No," quoth Dr Marshall. "Therefore if you will not so do, then there is no remedy but you must suffer for your deserts." "Well," quoth Master Ridley, "so long as the breath is in my body, I will never deny my Lord Christ, and his known truth: God's will be done in me!" And with that he rose up, and said with a loud voice, "Well then, I commit our cause to Almighty God, which shall indifferently judge all." To whose saying Master Latimer added his old posy, "Well! there is nothing hid but it shall be opened." And he said, he could answer Smith well enough, if he might be suffered.

Ridley ready to answer Smith's sermon, but not suffered.

Marshall, vice-chancellor of Oxford, stoppeth Ridley.

Ridley committeth his cause to God.

Latimer's words when he could not be suffered to answer Dr Smith.

Incontinently they were commanded to make them ready, which they with all meekness obeyed. Master Ridley took his gown and his tippet, and gave it to his brother-in-law Master Shipside, who all his time of imprisonment, although he might not be suffered to come to him, lay there at his

own charges to provide him necessaries, which, from time to time, he sent him by the serjeant that kept him. Some other of his apparel that was little worth, he gave away; other the bailiffs took.

Ridley giveth away his apparel and other gifts to the people.

He gave away besides divers other small things to gentlemen standing by, and divers of them pitifully weeping, as to Sir Henry Lea he gave a new groat; and to divers of my lord Williams' gentlemen some napkins, some nutmegs, and rases[1] of ginger; his dial, and such other things as he had about him, to every one that stood next him. Some plucked the points off his hose. Happy was he that might get any rag of him.

Latimer at the stake in his shirt.

Master Latimer gave nothing, but very quietly suffered his keeper to pull off his hose and his other array, which to look unto was very simple: and being stripped unto his shroud, he seemed as comely a person to them that were there present, as one should lightly[2] see; and whereas in his clothes he appeared a withered and crooked silly old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold.

Then Master Ridley, standing as yet in his truss, said to his brother, "It were best for me to go in my truss still." "No," quoth his brother, "it will put you to more pain; and the truss will do a poor man good." Whereunto Master Ridley said, "Be it, in the name of God;" and so unlaced himself. Then, being in his shirt, he stood upon the foresaid stone, and held up his hand and said, "O heavenly Father, I will give unto thee most hearty thanks, for that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto death. I beseech thee, Lord God, take mercy upon this realm of England, and deliver the same from all her enemies."

Ridley thanketh God for his martyrdom, and prayeth for England.

Then the smith took a chain of iron, and brought the same about both Dr Ridley's, and Master Latimer's middle: and as he was knocking in a staple, Dr Ridley took the chain in his hand, and shaked the same, for it did gird in his belly, and looking aside to the smith, said, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have his course."

[1 Pieces, or roots. Ed.]
[2 Lightly—easily or commonly. Ed.]

Then his brother did bring him gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied the same about his neck. Master Ridley asked what it was. His brother said, "Gunpowder." "Then," said he, "I will take it to be sent of God; therefore I will receive it as sent of him. And have you any," said he, "for my brother?" meaning Master Latimer. "Yea, sir, that I have," quoth his brother. "Then give it unto him," said he, "betime; lest ye come too late." So his brother went, and carried of the same gunpowder unto Master Latimer.

Gunpowder given to the martyrs.

In the mean time Dr Ridley spake unto my lord Williams, and said, "My lord, I must be a suitor unto your lordship in the behalf of divers poor men, and specially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a supplication to the queen's majesty in their behalfs. I beseech your lordship for Christ's sake, to be a mean to her grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, and will resort to your lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I praise God, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the see of London, divers poor men took leases of me, and agreed with me for the same. Now I hear say, the bishop that now occupieth the same room will not allow my grants unto them made, but, contrary unto all law and conscience, hath taken from them their livings, and will not suffer them to enjoy the same. I beseech you, my lord, be a mean for them: you shall do a good deed, and God will reward you."

Ridley's suit to the lord of Thame, for leases of poor men.

Bonner taketh away the leases from poor men, granted before by Ridley.

Then they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid the same down at Dr Ridley's feet. To whom Master Latimer spake in this manner: "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out."

The church lightened by the martyrdom of saints.

And so the fire being given unto them, when Dr Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a wonderful loud voice, "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum: Domine, recipe spiritum meum." And after repeated this latter part often in English, "Lord, Lord, receive my spirit;" Master Latimer crying as vehemently on the other side, "O Father of heaven, receive my soul!" who received the flame as it were embracing of it. After that he had

Latimer's prayer and martyrdom.

stroked his face with his hands, and as it were bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died (as it appeared) with very little pain or none. And thus much concerning the end of this old and blessed servant of God, Master Latimer, for whose laborious travails, fruitful life, and constant death, the whole realm hath cause to give great thanks to Almighty God.

But Master Ridley, by reason of the evil making of the fire unto him, because the wooden faggots were laid about the gorse, and over-high built, the fire burned first beneath, being kept down by the wood; which when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come unto him. Which when his brother-in-law heard, but not well understood, intending to rid him out of his pain (for the which cause he gave attendance), as one in such sorrow not well advised what he did, heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath, that it burned clean all his nether parts, before it once touched the upper; and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desire them to let the fire come unto him, saying, "I cannot burn." Which indeed appeared well; for after his legs were consumed by reason of his struggling through the pain (whereof he had no release, but only his contentation in God), he shewed that side toward us clean, shirt and all untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, having in his mouth, "Lord, have mercy upon me," intermingling his cry, "Let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn." In which pangs he laboured till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where he saw the fire flame up, he wrested himself unto that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but burned on the other side, falling down at Master Latimer's feet; which, some said, happened by reason that the chain loosed; others said, that he fell over the chain by reason of the poise of his body, and the weakness of the nether limbs.

Ridley long in burning.

The death and martyrdom of Ridley.

Some said, that before he was like to fall from the stake, he desired them to hold him to it with their bills. However it was, surely it moved hundreds to tears, in beholding

The lamenting hearts of the people at the martyrdom of

the horrible sight; for I think there was none, that had not clean exiled all humanity and mercy, which would not have lamented to behold the fury of the fire so to rage upon their bodies. Signs there were of sorrow on every side. Some took it grievously to see their deaths, whose lives they held full dear: some pitied their persons, that thought their souls had no need thereof. His brother moved many men, seeing his miserable case, seeing (I say) him compelled to such infelicity, that he thought then to do him best service, when he hastened his end. Some cried out of the fortune, to see his endeavour (who most dearly loved him, and sought his release) turn to his greater vexation and increase of pain. But whoso considered their preferments in time past, the places of honour that they some time occupied in this commonwealth, the favour they were in with their princes, and the opinion of learning they had in the university where they studied, could not choose but sorrow with tears, to see so great dignity, honour, and estimation, so necessary members sometime accounted, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, such excellent learning, to be put into the fire, and consumed in one moment. Well! dead they are, and the reward of this world they have already. What reward remaineth for them in heaven, the day of the Lord's glory, when he cometh with his saints, shall shortly, I trust, declare.

these two saints.

SMALLER TREATISES

AND OTHER DOCUMENTS

BY

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, D.D.

SOMETIME LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

RIDLEY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS DISPUTATION AT OXFORD. REPRINTED FROM COVERDALE'S LETTERS OF THE MARTYRS.

The manner of Dr Ridley's *handling in the schools at Oxford, and of the impudent, spiteful, and cruel dealing of the papists: which he set before his disputation by way of a preface*[1].

I never yet in all my life saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the disputation which was had with me of late in the schools at Oxford. And surely I could never have thought, that it had been possible to have found any within this realm, being of any knowledge, learning, and ancient degree of school, so brazen-faced and so shameless, as to behave themselves so vainly and so like stage-players, as they did in that disputation.

The Sorbonical clamours which at Paris (when popery most reigned,) I in times past have seen, might be worthily thought, in comparison of this thrasonical and glorious ostentation, to have had much modesty. Howbeit it was not to be wondered at, for that they which should there have been moderators and rulers of others, and which should have given a good example in word, gravity, &c. as Paul teacheth, 1 Tim. iv. gave worst example of all; and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to other, to rail, rage, roar, and cry out. By reason whereof, good Christian reader, it is manifest that they never sought for any truth, but only for the glory of the world and a bragging victory. But, besides the innumerable railings, rebukes, and taunts, wherewith I was baited on every side, lest our cause, which indeed is God's cause and his church's, should also by the false examples of our disputations be evil spoken of and slandered to the world, and so the verity sustain hurt and hindrance thereby; I have thought good to write my answers myself, that whosoever is desirous

[1 The original Latin will be found prefacing the disputation in Appendix. Ed.]

to know them and the truth withal, may thereby perceive those things which were chiefly objected against me, and also in effect, what was answered of me to every of them. Howbeit, good reader, I confess this to be most true, that it is impossible to set forth either all that was (God knoweth) tumultuously spoken, and like as of mad men objected of so many, which spake oftentimes huddle[a], so that one could not well hear another; either[b] all that was answered of me briefly to such and so diverse opponents. Moreover, a great part of the time appointed for the disputations was vainly spent in most contumelious taunts, hissings, clapping of hands, and triumphs, *more than tolerable*[c] even in stage-plays, and that in the English tongue, to get the people's favour withal. All which things when I with godly grief did suffer, and therewithal did openly bewail and witness, that that company of learned men, and schools which were appointed to grave men and to grave matters, were contaminate and defiled by such foolish and Robinhood pastimes, and that they which were the doers of such things, did but thereby openly shew their vanity; I was so far by my such humble complaint from doing good, or helping any thing at all, that I was enforced[d], what with hissing and shouting, and what with authority, to hear such great reproaches and slanders uttered against me, as no grave man without blushing could abide the hearing of the same spoken of[e] a most vile knave against a most wretched ruffian. At the beginning of the disputation, when I should have confirmed mine answer to the first proposition in few words, and that after the manner of disputations; before I could make an end of my probation, which was not very long, even the doctors themselves cried out, "He speaketh blasphemies, blasphemies, blasphemies." And when I on my knees most humbly and heartily besought them, that they would vouchsafe to hear me to the end, whereat the prolocutor (something moved, as it seemed) cried out, "Let him read it, let him read it;" yet when I again began to read it, there was by and by such a cry and noise, "Blasphemies, blasphemies," as I (to my remembrance) never heard or read the like, except it be one which was in the Acts of the Apostles stirred up of Demetrius the silversmith, and others of his occupation, crying

[a] confusedly.
[b] or.
[c] intolerable.
[d] forced.
[e] by.

out against Paul, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians, great is Diana of the Ephesians;" and except it were a certain disputation which the Arians had against the Orthodox, and such as were of godly judgment in Africa, where it is said, that such as the presidents and rulers of the disputation were, such was also the end of the disputation, all was done in hurlyburly, and the slanders of the Arians were so outrageous that nothing could quietly be heard. So writeth Victor in the second book of his history. And thus the cries and tumults of these men against me now so prevailed, that, whether I would or no, I was enforced to leave off the reading of my probations, although they were but short. And of the truth hereof I have all those that were present, being of any discretion or honesty, to be my witnesses. But hereof will I cease to complain any further[1].

Know, gentle reader, that master Prolocutor did promise me in the disputations publicly, that I should see mine answers, how they were collected and gathered of the notaries, and that I should have licence to add or diminish, to alter or change afterwards, as I should think best would make for me to the answering of the propositions. He promised moreover publicly, that I should have both time and place for me to bring in frankly all that I could for the confirmation of mine answers. Now when he had promised all these things openly, in the hearing of other commissioners and of the whole University of Oxford, yet, good reader, mark this, that in very deed he performed nothing of all that he promised: what faith then shall a man look to find at such judges' hands in the secret mysteries of God, which in their promises so openly made, and so duly debt,[f] (I will not speak of the witnesses of the matter,) are found to be so faithless both to God and man? Well, I will leave it to the judgment of the wise.

[f] owing.

And now, for that is left for us to do, let us pray that God would have mercy on his Church of England; that yet once,

[1] Coverdale, from whom this account is reprinted, divides it at this passage into two portions, and places each separately among Ridley's letters, at the same time apologizing for the division, and stating that it ought not to have been made. See Coverdale's Letters of the Reformers, fol. 112. Ed. 1564. Ed.]

when it shall be his good pleasure, it may clearly see and greedily embrace, in the faith of Jesus Christ, the will of the heavenly Father; and that, of his infinite mercy, he would either turn to him the raging and ravening wolves, and most subtle seducers of his people, which are by them altogether spoiled and bewitched, either[g] that of his most righteous judgment he would drive these faithless feeders from his flock, that they may no more be able to trouble and scatter abroad Christ's sheep from their shepherd—and that speedily. Amen, amen. And let every one that hath the Spirit (as St John saith) say, Amen.

[g] or.

Yet further know thou, that when Master Prolocutor did put forth three propositions, he did command us to answer particularly to them all. After our answers neither he nor his fellows did ever enter into any disputation of any one of them, saving only of the first. Yea, when that he had asked us, after disputations of the first, (as ye have heard for my part,) whether we would subscribe to the whole in such sort, form, and words as there are set forth, without further disputation, (which thing we denied[h]) by and by he gave sentence against us all; that is, against me, Dr Cranmer, and Mr Latimer, my most dear fathers and brethren in Christ; condemning us for heinous heretics concerning every of these propositions; and so separated us one from another, sending us severally into sundry and diverse houses, to be kept most secretly till the day of our burning; and as before, so still commanded, that all and every one of our servants should be kept from us; whereto he added that at his departure thence, pen, ink, and paper should depart from us also. But thanks be to God, that gave me to write this before the use of such things were utterly taken away. Almighty God, which beholdeth the causes of the afflicted, and is wont to loose and look mercifully on the bonds and groanings of the captives, he vouchsafe now to look upon the causes of his poor church in England, and, of his great wisdom and unspeakable mercy, with speed to make an end of our misery! Amen, amen, amen.

[h] refused.

He meaneth here that godly and fruitful report of his disputation in Oxford, which he penned with his own hand.

CERTAIN MATTERS WHEREIN STEPHEN GARDINER, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, VARIETH FROM OTHER OF THE PAPISTS, TOUCHING THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER; REPRINTED FROM FOX'S ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

FOX'S PREFACE.

Forasmuch, good reader, as our adversaries, that is the Romish Catholics, as Lindanus[1], Pighius, Gardiner, with others more, are wont so greatly to charge us with dissension and repugnance among ourselves; for the same cause I have thought good, especially having here in hand the story of Winchester, to set forth to the eyes of men a brief treatise of Dr Ridley, wherein, as in a glass, you may see, and that by his own words and in his own works, the manifest contrariety and repugnance of the said Winchester: first, with other writers; secondly, with himself, in the matter of the sacrament; thirdly, herein thou mayest see and understand how far and wherein not only he disagreeth from his own profession, but also granteth and agreeth with sundry of our assertions in the said matter; as by reading thereof thou mayest see and perceive more at large.

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*Other Catholics say, that the body of Christ is made of bread. *Thomas vult, ex pane, non de pane, parte tertia*[2]; Winchester saith, that the body of Christ is not made of the matter of bread, nor ever was so taught, but is made present of bread[3].

[1] The following may be mentioned as a specimen of such writings: "De M. Lutheri et aliorum sectariorum varietate opuscula; item Guil. Lindani hereseon tabulæ;" Coloniæ, 1579. Ed.]

[* The second references within brackets thus (—) refer to Cranmer's works, Ed. Oxon. by the Rev. Henry Jenkyns, M.A. 1833. Ed.]

[2] Quest. 75, art. 8.

[3] P. 72, l. 14; and p. 178, l. 10, (vol. iii. p. 145, 303.) Ed.]

Confutation of Winchester against Cranmer.

2. Winchester saith, that Christ called bread his body, when he said, "This is my body[1]." And in the Devil's Sophistry[2]. Others say contrary[3].

Winchester saith, that "bread is my body," is as much as to say, "bread is made my body." And so he taketh *est* for *fit*[4]. Others say that *est* is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for "is," and not for "is made[5]."

Winchester saith, that "Christ is present in the sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same signification that he is in heaven[6]."

3. Winchester saith also, that when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body which hath both form and quantity[7]. Smith saith, that Christ's body in the sacrament hath not its proper form and quantity, fol. 106. And the contrary he saith, fol. 105[8].

4. Winchester saith, we believe simply that Christ is naturally and corporally in the sacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding[9]. Smith saith, we say that Christ's body is in the sacrament against nature, with all its qualities and accidents[10].

5. Winchester saith, that God's works be all seemliness without confusion, although he cannot locally distinguish Christ's head from his feet, nor his legs from his arms[11]. Others say, that Christ's head and feet, and other parts, be not indeed locally distinct in the sacrament, but be so confounded, that wheresoever one is, there be all the rest.

6. Winchester saith, that Christ's body is in the sacra-

[1 P. 257, l. 27, (vol. iii. p. 369.)
2 And in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 27.
3 See Smith, fol. 53.
4 P. 295, l. 35, (vol. iii. p. 425.) Confutation.
5 Marc. Anton. fol. 171, fac. 2.
6 P. 141, l. 6, (vol. iii. p. 213.) Confutation.
7 P. 71, l. 37, (vol. iii. p. 132.)
8 Chedsey in disputatione cum Petro Mart.
9 P. 353, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 502.)
10 Fol. 105.
11 P. 70, l. 27, (vol. iii. p. 115.) Confutation. Ed.]

ment sensibly, naturally, carnally, and corporally[12]. Others say contrary[13].

7. Others say, that Christ's feet in the sacrament be there where his head is. Winchester saith, that whosoever saith so, may be called mad[14].

8. Others say, that corporally Christ goeth into the mouth or stomach, and no further[15]. He saith contrary[16].

9. Winchester saith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ[17]. Others say contrary[18].

10. Winchester saith, that no creature can eat the body of Christ, but only man[19]. Others say clean contrary: Thomas, *Hoc derogat, inquit, veritati corporis Christi*[20]. Perin[21], in his sermon of the Sacrament: "What inconvenience is it, though the impassible body lie in the mouth or maw of the beast," &c. *Magister Sententiarum, qui dicit corpus Christi posse a mure manducari aut a bruto*, is condemned[22].

11. Winchester saith, that an unrepentant sinner, receiving the sacrament, hath not Christ's body nor spirit within him[23]. Smith saith, that he hath Christ's body and spirit within him[24].

12. Winchester saith, that of the figure it may not be said, "Adore it, worship it;" and that it is not to be adored

[12 P. 159, l. 9, (vol. iii. p. 240.) Confutation.

13 Smith, fol. 39.

14 P. 61, l. 34, (vol. iii. p. 115.) Confutation.

15 Bonaventura, Hugo, Innocent, 3, lib. iv. cap. 15. Glos. de consecrat. dist. 2, cap. "tribus", et in glos. "non iste". Thom. Parte 3, quæst. 80, art. 3. "Tamdiu manet dum est in digestione." Smith, fol. 64.

16 P. 52, l. 36, (vol. iii. p. 99.) Confutation.

17 P. 53, l. 1; p. 56, l. 31, (vol. iii. p. 106.) Confutation.

18 Smith, fol. 64.

19 P. 66, l. 30, (vol. iii. p. 123.) Confutation.

20 Part 3, q. 8, art. 3.

21 "Three godly and notable Sermons, by W. Peryn. Imprynted by Nicolas Hyll;" 8vo. London. 1546. See Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities, 4. 230.

22 "A mouse may eat Christ's body," saith the Master of the Sentences. "A mouse cannot eat it," saith Winchester.

23 P. 225, l. 36, (vol. iii. p. 328.)

24 Fol. 136. "Within him," that is, within his soul. Ed.]

which the bodily eye seeth[1]: *Docetur populus non adorare quod vident oculis corporis.* Smith saith contrary[2].

13. Winchester saith, that reason will agree with the doctrine of transubstantiation well enough[3]. Smith saith that transubstantiation is against reason and natural operation[4].

14. Others say, that worms in the sacrament be gendered of accidents: *Ex speciebus sacramentalibus generentur vermes*[5]. Winchester saith, that they be wrong borne in hand to say so[6].

15. Winchester saith, that the accidents of bread and wine do mould, sour, and wax vinegar[7]. But he answereth so confusedly, that the reader cannot understand him, be he never so attentive. Smith saith, "Thus I say, that the consecrated wine turneth not into vinegar, nor the consecrated bread mouldeth, nor engendereth worms, nor is burned, nor receiveth into it any poison, as long as Christ's body and blood are under the forms of them, which do abide there so long as the natural qualities and properties of bread and wine tarry there in their natural disposition and condition; and the bread and wine might be naturally there, if they had not been changed into Christ's body and blood, and also as long as the host and consecrated wine are apt to be received of man, and no longer, but go and depart thence by God's power, as it pleaseth him; and then a new substance is made of God, which turneth into vinegar, engendereth worms, mouldeth, is burned, feedeth rats and mice, receiveth poison[8]," &c.

16. Winchester saith, "Every 'yea' containeth a 'nay' in it naturally: so as whosoever saith, this is bread, saith it is no wine. For in the rule of common reason the grant of one substance is the denial of another. And therefore reason hath these conclusions thoroughly; whatsoever is bread

[1 P. 178, l. 40; p. 339, l. 32, (vol. iii. p. 269;) Marc. Anton. fol. 136, fac. 2.

2 Fol. 145, fac. 2.

3 P. 264, l. 47, (vol. iii. p. 382.) Confutation.

4 Fol. 60.

5 Thom. par. 3, q. 77, art. 5.

6 P. 355, l. 3, (vol. iii. p. 505.) Confutation.

7 P. 265, l. 11; p. 355, l. 8, (vol. iii. p. 182.) Confutation, et Marc. Ant. fol. 168, fac. 1.

8 Fol. 64, and fol. 105. Ed.]

is no wine; whatsoever is wine, is no milk; and so forth." So Christ saying, This is my body, saith, It is no bread[9]. Smith saith, that a boy which hath only learned sophistry, will not dispute so fondly[10].

17. Others say, that the mass is a sacrifice satisfactory by the devotion of the priest and of them for whom it is offered, and not by the thing that is offered[11]. Winchester saith otherwise[12].

18. Winchester saith, that the only immolation of Christ in himself upon the altar of the cross, is the very satisfactory sacrifice for the reconciliation of mankind unto the favour of God[13]. Smith saith, "What is it to offer Christ's body and blood at mass, to purchase thereby everlasting life, if the mass be not a sacrifice to pacify God's wrath from sin, and to obtain his mercy[14]?" Where he saith further, "Priests do offer for our salvation to get heaven, and to avoid hell."

Matters wherein Bishop Gardiner *varieth from himself.*

"The body of Christ in the sacrament is not made of bread, but is made present of bread[15]." First proposition.

"Of bread is made the body of Christ[16]." Contradiction.

"The Catholic faith hath from the beginning confessed truly Christ's intent to make bread his body[17]."

"And of many breads is made one body of Christ[18]."

"And faith sheweth me, that bread is the body of Christ, that is to say, made the body of Christ[19]."

"Christ gave that he made of bread[20]."

"Christ spake plainly, 'This is my body,' making demonstration of the bread, when he said, 'This is my body[21].'" Second proposition.

[9] P. 256, l. 38; p. 265, l. 5, (vol. iii. p. 369.)
[10] Fol. 77. [11] Thom. par. 3, 9, 79, art. 5.
[12] P. 80, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 150.) Confutation.
[13] P. 437, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 543.) [14] Fol. 24, 143, 164.
[15] P. 76, l. 6, (vol. iii. p. 145, 303.) Confutation.
[16] P. 344, l. 8, (vol. iii. p. 488.)
[17] P. 26, l. 40, (vol. iii. p. 72.) Confutation.
[18] P. 144, l. 23, (vol. iii. p. 217.) Confutation.
[19] P. 295, l. 30, (vol. iii. p. 425.) Confutation.
[20] P. 257, l. 50, (vol. iii. p. 371.) [21] In the Devil's Sophistry, 27. Ed.]

"The demonstration, 'this,' may be referred to the invisible substance[1]."

Contradiction. "The verb 'is' was of his body and of his blood, and not of the bread and wine[2]."

Third proposition. "*Illis verbis*, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' *substantia corporis significatur, nec de pane quicquam intelligitur, quando corpus de substantia sua, non aliena, prædicetur*[3]." "When Christ said, 'This is my body,' the truth of the literal sense hath an absurdity in carnal reason[4]."

Contradiction. "What can be more evidently spoken of the presence of Christ's natural body and blood in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, than is in these words, 'This is my body[5]?'"

Fourth proposition. "Where the body of Christ is, there is whole Christ, God and Man; and when we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity[6]."

"And he is present in the sacrament, as he is in heaven[7]."

"We believe simply the substance of Christ's body to be in the sacrament, without drawing away of the accidents, or adding[8]."

Contradiction. "Christ is not present in the sacrament after the manner of quantity, but under the form and quantities of bread and wine[9]."

Fifth proposition. "In such as receive the sacrament worthily, Christ dwelleth corporally, and naturally, and carnally[10]."

Contradiction. "The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal, not carnal, not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual[11]."

[1 P. 106, l. 42, (vol. iii. p. 178.) Confutation.
2 P. 251, l. 8, (vol. iii. p. 364.)
3 Mar. Anton. fol. 24, fac. 2.
4 P. 138, l. 19, (vol. iii. p. 210.) Confutation.
5 In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 51.
6 P. 71, l. 47, (vol. iii. p. 132.) Mar. Anton. object. 77. Smith, fol. 105.
7 P. 141, l. 6, (vol. iii. p. 213, &c.) Confutation.
8 P. 353, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 502.) Confutation.
9 P. 71, l. 50; p. 90, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 132.)
10 P. 166, l. 19; p. 173, l. 54; p. 191, l. 47, (vol. iii. pp. 251, 262, 287.)
11 P. 159, l. 17; p. 197, l. 32, (vol. iii. pp. 241, 295.) Confutation. Ed.]

"We receive Christ in the sacrament of his flesh and blood, if we receive him worthily[12]." Sixth proposition.

"When an unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him[13]."

"He that eateth verily the flesh of Christ, is by nature in Christ, and Christ is naturally in him[14]."

"An evil man in the sacrament receiveth indeed Christ's very body[15]." Contradiction.

"Evil men eat verily the flesh of Christ[16]."

"Christ giveth us to be eaten the same flesh that he took of the Virgin Mary[17]." Seventh proposition.

"We receive not in the sacrament Christ's flesh that was crucified[18]."

"St Augustine's rule in his book, *De Doctrina Christiana*, pertaineth not to Christ's Supper[19]." Eighth proposition.

"St Augustine meaneth of the sacrament[20]."

"Reason in the place of service (as being inferior to faith) will agree with the faith of transubstantiation well enough[21]." Ninth proposition.

"And as reason received into faith's service doth not strive with transubstantiation, but agreeth well with it, so men's senses be not such direct adversaries to transubstantiation, as a matter whereof they cannot skill; for the senses cannot skill of substances[22]." Contradiction.

"Thine eyes say, there is but bread and wine; thy taste saith the same; thy feeling and smelling agree fully with them. Hereunto is added the carnal man's understanding, which, because it taketh the beginning of the senses, proceedeth in reasoning sensually[23]."

"The church hath not forborne to preach the truth, to the confusion of man's senses and understanding[24]."

[12 P. 167, l. 9; p. 174, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 252, 262.) Confutation.
13 P. 225, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 328.) Confutation.
14 P. 17, l. 38, (vol. iii. p. 62.) Confutation. 15 Ibid.
16 P. 225, l. 47, (vol. iii. p. 328.) Confutation.
17 P. 241, l. 27, (vol. iii. p. 348.)
18 P. 243, l. 16, (vol. iii. p. 351.) Confutation.
19 P. 117, l. 21, (vol. iii. p. 190.)
20 P. 119, l. 24, (vol. iii. p. 194.) Confutation.
21 P. 265, l. 1, (vol. iii. p. 382.) Confutation.
22 P. 271, l. 24, (vol. iii. p. 391.)
23 In the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 6. 24 Fol. 15. Ed.]

Tenth proposition. "It is called bread, because of the outward visible matter[1]."

Contradiction. "When it is called bread, it is meant Christ, the spiritual bread[2]."

Eleventh proposition. "And the catholic faith teacheth, that the fraction is in the outward sign, and not in the body of Christ[3]."

Contradiction. "That which is broken is the body of Christ[4]."

Twelfth proposition. "The inward nature of the bread is the substance[5]."

Contradiction. "Substance signifieth in Theodoret," he saith, "the outward nature[6]."

Thirteenth proposition. "The substances of bread and wine be visible creatures[7]."

Contradiction. "Accidents be the visible natures, and visible elements[8]."

Fourteenth proposition. "Christ is our satisfaction wholly and fully, and hath paid our whole debt to God the Father for the appeasing of his wrath against us[9]."

Contradiction. "The act of the priest, done according to God's commandment, must needs be propitiatory, and ought to be trusted on, to have a propitiatory effect[10]."

Fourteenth proposition. "The sacrifice of our Saviour Christ was never reiterate[11]."

Contradiction. "Priests do sacrifice Christ[12]."

"And the catholic doctrine teacheth the daily sacrifice to be the same in essence, that was offered on the cross[13]."

Fifteenth proposition. "The Nestorians granted both the Godhead and Manhood always to be in Christ continually[14]."

Contradiction. "The Nestorians denied Christ conceived God, or born God, but that he was afterward God; as a man that is not born a bishop, is after made a bishop. So the Nestorians said, that the Godhead was an accession after by merit, and that he was conceived only Man[15]."

Sixteenth proposition. "Christ useth us as familiarly as he did his apostles[16]."

Contradiction. "Christ is not said to be conversant in earth[17]."

[1 P. 392. 2 P. 284, l. 25, (vol. iii. p. 411.)
3 P. 144, l. 39; p. 343, l. 21, (vol. iii. p. 218,) and in the Devil's Sophistry, fol. 17. 4 P. 348, l. 18, (vol. iii. p. 494.)
5 P. 348, l. 18, (vol. iii. p. 494.) 6 P. 359, l. 22, (vol. iii. p. 511.)
7 P. 285, l. 48; p. 286, l. 44, (vol. iii. p. 414.)
8 P. 363, l. 39, (vol. iii. p. 518.) 9 P. 81, l. 39, (vol. iii. p. 150.)
10 P. 387, l. 13, (vol. iii. p. 542.) 11 P. 368, l. 46, (vol. iii. p. 529.)
12 P. 381, l. 42, (vol. iii. p. 583.) 13 P. 436, l. 11, (vol. iii. p. 541.)
14 P. 309, l. 18, (vol. iii. p. 447.) 15 P. 309, l. 12, (vol. iii. p. 449.)
16 P. 33, l. 54, (vol. iii. p. 152.) 17 P. 101, l. 16, (vol. iii. p. 173.) Ed.]

Certain things that Bishop Gardiner *granted unto.*

"Christ declared eating of himself to signify believing[18]." Notes declaring wherein Winchester granted to spiritual use of the sacrament.

"Christ must be spiritually in man, before he receive the sacrament; or else he cannot receive the sacrament worthily[19]."

"How Christ is present[20]."

"By faith we know only the being present of Christ's most precious body; not the manner thereof[21]."

"When we speak of Christ's body, we must understand a true body, which hath both form and quantity[22]."

"Although Christ's body have all those truths of form and quantity, yet it is not present after the manner of quantity[23]."

"The demonstrative 'this' may be referred to the invisible substance[24]."

"All the old prayers and ceremonies sound, as though the people did communicate with the priest[25]."

"The manner of Christ's being in the sacrament is not corporal nor carnal; not natural, not sensible, not perceptible, but only spiritual[26]."

"When the unrepentant sinner receiveth the sacrament, he hath not Christ's body within him[27]."

"We eat not Christ as he sitteth in heaven reigning[28]."

"The word 'transubstantiation' was first spoken of in a general council, where the bishop of Rome was present[29]." Transubstantiation first spoken of.

"In the sacrifice of the church Christ's death is not iterated, but a memory daily renewed of that death; so that Christ's offering on the cross, once done and consummate, is now only remembered[30]."

[18 P. 27, l. 7, (vol. iii. p. 72.) Confutation.
19 P. 48, l. 46; p. 140, l. ult.; p. 172, l. 28, (vol. iii. p. 94.)
20 P. 61, l. 10; p. 71, l. 41; p. 90, l. 44; p. 57, l. 17; p. 197, l. 30, (vol. iii. p. 114.)
21 P. 61, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 114.)
22 Ibid.
23 P. 71, l. 34, (vol. iii. p. 132.)
24 P. 106, l. 44, (vol. iii. p. 178.) 25 P. 145, l. 90, (vol. iii. p. 219.)
26 P. 159, l. 17; p. 197, l. 32, (vol. iii. pp. 241, 295.)
27 P. 225, l. 43, (vol. iii. p. 328.) 28 P. 243, l. 32, (vol. iii. p. 351.)
29 P. 250, l. 28, (vol. iii. p. 363.) 30 P. 391, l. 5, (vol. iii. p. 549.) Ed.]

ANSWERS TO CERTAIN QUERIES TOUCHING THE ABUSES OF THE MASS.

"This winter (1548), there was a Committee of selected bishops and divines appointed for examining all the offices of the Church, and for reforming them. Some had been in King Henry's time employed in the same business, in which they had made a good progress, which was now to be brought to a full perfection. Therefore the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Durham, Worcester, Norwich, St Asaph, Salisbury, Coventry and Lichfield, Carlisle, Bristol, St David's, Ely, Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, Westminster and Rochester, with Doctors Cox, May, Taylor, Heins, Robertson and Redmayne were appointed to examine all the offices of the Church, and to consider how far any of them needed amendment." "The thing they first examined was the sacrament of the Eucharist."—"Cranmer's hand is over every one of them (the answers) marking the name of the bishop to whom they belonged[1]."

Burnet, Hist. of the Reformation, Ed. 1816, Ox. vol. ii. part 1. pp. 113, 114, 115.

Question 1.

Question. Whether the sacrament of the Altar was instituted to be received of one man for another, or to be received of every man for himself?

Answer. Of every man for himself.

Question 2.

Question. Whether the receiving of the said sacrament of one man, doth avail and profit any other?

Answer. No—but as the receipt of wholesome doctrine, the receipt of the fear of God, the receipt of any godly gift, that is profitable to any one member of Christ's mystical body, may be said generally to profit the whole body, because there

[1] The answers of Ridley have been extracted and are here published with the questions, separately. Ed.]

is a mystical communion and a spiritual participation amongst all the members of Christ in all godliness, as there is in the natural body a natural participation of all natural affections both good and evil.

Question 3.

What is the oblation and sacrifice of Christ in the mass? Question.

The representation and commemoration of Christ's death and passion, said and done in the mass, is called the sacrifice, oblation or immolation of Christ: *non rei veritate* (as learned men do write) *sed significandi mysterio.* Answer.

Question 4.

Wherein consisteth the mass by Christ's institution? Question.

I am not able to say that the mass consisteth by Christ's institution in other things than in those which be set forth by the Evangelists, Matthew, Mark and Luke, in the Acts, and in 1 Cor. x. xi. Answer.

Question 5.

What time the accustomed order began in the Church, that the priest alone should receive the sacrament? Question.

Because the Scripture saith, *Panis quem frangimus nonne communicatio corporis est*, &c. likewise *de chalice cui benedicimus*, and also, *bibite ex eo omnes:* and the Canons said to be of the Apostles, 10 and 11. and of the Antiochian council can. 2. Anacletus in an epistle commandeth the sacrament to be received of more than the priest alone: Dyonise also declareth the same, and long after, Chrysostom: St Ambrose and St Augustine both complain of the slackness of some, and earnestly exhort the people to the receipt thereof: therefore I suppose that custom, that the priest should receive it alone where it was celebrated openly, was not received in the Church of Christ by the space of four or five hundred years at least after Christ. Answer.

Question 6.

Whether it be convenient that the same custom continue still within this realm? Question.

I suppose it were best that the custom should be re- Answer.

formed unto the rule of Scripture, and unto the pattern of the primitive church.

Question 7.

Question. Whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue, that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed?

Answer. That masses satisfactory should continue to be sung for souls departed by priests hired thereunto, I think it not convenient.

Question 8.

Question. Whether the gospel ought to be taught at the time of the mass to the understanding of the people being present?

Answer. The Annunciation of Christ's death and passion, and the benefit of the same, that [is] the forgiveness of sins to all the true and faithful believers therein, ought evermore to be set forth in the mass to the edification of the people, which thing cannot be done according to St Paul's mind and meaning, 1 Cor. xiv. as I suppose, except it be set forth to the people's understanding.

Question 9.

Question. Whether in the mass it were convenient to use such speech as the people may understand?

Answer. I think it not only convenient that such speech should be used in the mass as the people might understand, but also to speak it with such an audible voice that the people might hear it, that they be not defrauded of their own, which St Paul teacheth to belong to them, and also that they may answer, as Cyprian saith the people did in his days, "*Habemus ad Dominum.*" Nevertheless as concerneth that part which pertaineth to the consecration, Dyonise and Basil move me to think it no inconvenience that [that] part should be spoken in silence.

Question 10.

Question. When the reservation of the sacrament and the hanging up of the same first began?

Answer. No answer of Ridley's to this query has been preserved.

INJUNCTIONS GIVEN IN THE VISITATION OF THE REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, NICHOLAS BISHOP OF LONDON, FOR AN UNIFORMITY IN HIS DIOCESE OF LONDON, IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD KING EDWARD THE SIXTH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF ENGLAND, &c. LONDON, A.D. 1550.

First, That there be no reading of such injunctions as extolleth and setteth forth the popish mass, candles, images, chauntries; neither that there be used any superaltaries, or trentals of communions.

Item. That no minister do counterfeit the popish mass, in kissing the Lord's board; washing his hands or fingers after the gospel, or the receipt of the holy communion; shifting the book from one place to another; laying down and licking the chalice after the communion; blessing his eyes with the sudarie thereof, or paten, or crossing his head with the same, holding his fore-fingers and thumbs joined together toward the temples of his head, after the receiving of the sacrament; breathing on the bread, or chalice; saying the Agnus before the communion; shewing the sacrament openly before the distribution, or making any elevation thereof; ringing of the sacrying bell, or setting any light upon the Lord's board. And finally, that the minister, in the time of the holy communion, do use only the ceremonies and gestures appointed by the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, so that there do not appear in them any counterfeiting of the popish mass.

Item. That none be admitted to receive the holy communion, but such as will, upon request of the curate, be ready with meekness and reverence to confess the articles of the Creed.

Item. That none make a mart of the holy communion, by buying and selling the receipt thereof for money, as the popish mass in times past was wont to be.

Item. Whereas in divers places some use the Lord's board after the form of a table, and some of an altar, whereby

dissension is perceived to arise among the unlearned; therefore wishing a godly unity to be observed in all our diocese, and for that the form of a table may more move and turn the simple from the old superstitious opinions of the popish mass, and to the right use of the Lord's supper, we exhort the curates, church-wardens, and questmen here present, to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel, as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers, with the communicants, may have their place separated from the rest of the people; and to take down and abolish all other by-altars or tables.

Item. That the minister, in the time of the communion, immediately after the offertory, shall monish the communicants, saying these words, or such-like, "Now is the time, if it please you, to remember the poor men's chest with your charitable alms."

Item. That the Homilies be read orderly, without omission of any part thereof.

Item. The common prayer be had in every church upon Wednesdays and Fridays, according to the king's grace's ordinance; and that all such as conveniently may, shall diligently resort to the same.

Item. That every curate be diligent to teach the Catechism, whensoever just occasion is offered, upon the Sunday or holy-day, and at least every six weeks once shall call upon his parishioners, and present himself ready to instruct and examine the youth of the same parish, according to the book of service touching the same.

Item. That none maintain purgatory, invocation of saints, the six articles, beadrolls, images, reliques, rubrick primars, with invocation of saints, justification of man by his own works, holy bread, palms, ashes, candles, sepulchre paschal, creeping to the cross, hallowing of the fire or altar, or any other such like abuses and superstitions, now taken away by the king's grace's most godly proceedings[1].

Item. That all ministers do move the people to often and worthy receiving of the holy communion.

[1 For Gardiner's opinion of Ridley's proceedings, see Appendix IV.]

Item. That every minister do move his parishioners to come diligently to the church; and when they come, not to talk, or walk, in the sermon, communion, or divine service-time, but rather at the same to behave themselves reverently, godly, and devoutly in the church; and that they also monish the churchwardens to be diligent overseers in that behalf.

Item. That the churchwardens do not permit any buying, selling, gaming, outrageous noise or tumult, or any other idle occupying of youth in the church, church-porch, or church-yard, during the time of common prayer, sermon, or reading of the homily.

Item. That no persons use to minister the sacraments, or in open audience of the congregation presume to expound the holy scriptures, or to preach, before they be first lawfully called and authorised in that behalf.

God save the king.

REASONS WHY THE LORD'S BOARD SHOULD RATHER BE AFTER THE FORM OF A TABLE, THAN OF AN ALTAR.

("I AM not ashamed of the gospel, because it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth." [Rom. i. 16.]

Certain reasons why the reverend father, Nicholas, bishop of London, amongst other his injunctions given in his late visitation, did exhort those churches in his diocese, where the altars, as then, did remain, to conform themselves to those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. And that herein he did not only not any thing contrary unto the Book of Common Prayer, or to the king's majesty's proceedings[2], but that he was induced to do the same, partly moved by his office and duty, wherewith he is charged in the same book, and partly for the advancement and sincere setting forward of God's holy word, and the king's majesty's most godly proceedings[3]).

[2 Fox, Acts and Monuments, Edition 1563, p. 727. Ed.]

[3 See Appendix VI.]

First Reason.

The form of a table shall more move the simple from the superstitious opinions of the popish mass, unto the right use of the Lord's Supper. For the use of an altar is to make sacrifice upon it; the use of a table is to serve for men to eat upon. Now, when we come unto the Lord's board, what do we come for? to sacrifice Christ again, and to crucify him again, or to feed upon him that was once only crucified and offered up for us? If we come to feed upon him, spiritually to eat his body, and spiritually to drink his blood (which is the true use of the Lord's Supper), then no man can deny but the form of a table is more meet for the Lord's board, than the form of an altar.

Second Reason.

Answer to certain cavillers who take hold of the term 'altar' in the king's book. How the table may be called an altar.

Whereas it is said, 'The Book of Common Prayer maketh mention of an altar; wherefore it is not lawful to abolish that which the book alloweth:' to this it is thus answered: The Book of Common Prayer calleth the thing whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered indifferently a table, an altar, or the Lord's board; without prescription of any form thereof, either of a table or of an altar: so that whether the Lord's board have the form of an altar, or of a table, the Book of Common Prayer calleth it both an altar and a table. For as it calleth it an altar, whereupon the Lord's Supper is ministered, a table, and the Lord's board, so it calleth the table, where the holy communion is distributed with lauds and thanksgiving unto the Lord, an altar, for that there is offered the same sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And thus it appeareth, that here is nothing either said or meant contrary to the Book of Common Prayer.

Third Reason.

The popish opinion of mass was, that it might not be celebrated but upon an altar, or at the least upon a super-altar, to supply the fault of the altar, which must have had its prints and characters; or else it was thought that the thing was not lawfully done. But this superstitious opinion

is more holden in the minds of the simple and ignorant by the form of an altar, than of a table; wherefore it is more meet, for the abolishment of this superstitious opinion, to have the Lord's board after the form of a table, than of an altar.

This reason for taking away the superstitious opinion serveth also as well for abolishing other things besides altars, &c.

Fourth Reason.

The form of an altar was ordained for the sacrifices of the law, and therefore the altar in Greek is called θυσιαστήριον, *quasi sacrificii locus.* But now both the law and the sacrifices thereof do cease: wherefore the form of the altar used in the altar ought to cease withal.

The name of an altar, how derived.

Fifth Reason.

Christ did institute the sacrament of his body and blood at his last supper at a table, and not at an altar; as it appeareth manifestly by the three Evangelists. And St Paul calleth the coming to the holy communion, the coming unto the Lord's Supper. And also it is not read that any of the apostles or the primitive church did ever use any altar in ministration of the holy communion.

Christ used a table, and not an altar.

The altar never used among the apostles.

Wherefore, seeing the form of a table is more agreeable to Christ's institution, and with the usage of the apostles and of the primitive church, than the form of an altar, therefore the form of a table is rather to be used, than the form of an altar, in the administration of the holy communion.

Sixth and last reason.

It is said in the preface of the Book of Common Prayer, that if any doubt do arise in the use and practising of the same book, to appease all such diversity, the matter shall be referred unto the bishop of the diocese, who by his discretion shall take order for the quieting and appeasing of the same, so that the same order be not contrary unto any thing contained in that book.

(After these letters and reasons received, the fore-named Nicholas Ridley, bishop of London, consequently upon the

same did hold his visitation, wherein, amongst other his injunctions, the said bishop exhorted those churches in his diocese, where the altars did then remain, to conform themselves unto those other churches which had taken them down, and had set up, instead of the multitude of their altars, one decent table in every church. Upon the occasion whereof here arose a great diversity about the form of the Lord's board, some using it after the form of a table, and some of an altar. Wherein when the said bishop was required to say and determine what was most meet, he declared he could do no less of his bounden duty, for the appeasing of such diversity, and to procure one godly uniformity, but to exhort all his diocese unto that which he thought did best agree with the Scripture, with the usage of the apostles, and with the primitive church, and to that which is not only not contrary unto any thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer (as is before proved), but also might highly further the king's most godly proceedings in abolishing of divers vain and superstitious opinions of the popish mass out of the hearts of the simple, and to bring them to the right use, taught by holy Scripture, of the Lord's supper. And so appointed he the form of a right table to be used in his diocese, and in the church of Paul brake down the wall standing then by the high altar's side. Fox.)

Ridley appointed in his diocese the right form of a table.

The wall by the high altar in St Paul's broken down by Ridley.

LETTERS

OF

BISHOP RIDLEY.

REPRINTED FROM

COVERDALE'S "LETTERS OF THE MARTYRS"; THE WORKS OF STRYPE; BURNET'S "HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION"; THE "ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF FOXE";

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LETTERS OF DOCTOR RIDLEY,

LATE BISHOP OF LONDON:

WHO, AFTER LONG IMPRISONMENT, WAS SPITEFULLY AND CRUELLY MARTYRED IN OXFORD, FOR THE CONSTANT CONFESSION OF GOD'S TRUE RELIGION; IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD GOD, 1555, THE SIXTEENTH DAY OF OCTOBER.

LETTER I. (Burnet.)

To the protector[1], *concerning the visitation of the University of Cambridge.*

Right honourable,

I wish your grace the holy and wholesome fear of God, because I am persuaded your grace's goodness to be such unfeignedly, that even wherein your grace's letters doth sore blame me, yet in the same the advertisement of the truth shall not displease your grace; and also perceiving that the cause of your grace's discontentation was wrong information, therefore I shall beseech your grace to give me leave to shew your grace, wherein it appeareth to me that your grace is wrong informed.

Your grace's letters blameth me, because I did not (at the first, before the visitation began, having knowledge of the matter) shew my mind. The truth is, before God, I never had, nor could get any fore-knowledge of the matter, of the uniting of the two colleges[2], before we had begun, and had

[1 Edward Duke of Somerset. Ed.]

[2 These two Colleges were Clare Hall, of which Dr Madew was Master, and Trinity Hall, of which Stephen Gardiner was Master. It was intended to unite these two, and to form out of them one college of civilians. Clare Hall, however, refused to submit; and as it was then full of Northern men, Ridley, who supported their refusal, was thought to have been indueed to take this step by his partiality for his own countrymen. This visitation took place in May, 1549, at which time Robert Rugge was Chancellor. Ed.]

entered two days in the visitation; and that your grace may plainly thus well perceive.

A little before Easter I, being at Rochester, received letters from Mr Secretary Smith and the Dean of Paul's, to come to the visitation of the University, and to make a sermon at the beginning thereof; whereupon I sent immediately a servant up to London to the Dean of Paul's, desiring of him to have had some knowledge of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my sermon should somewhat have savoured of the same.

From Mr Dean I received a letter, instructing me only, that the cause of the visitation was, to abolish statutes and ordinances, which maintained papistry, superstition, blindness and ignorance; and to establish and set forth, such as might further God's word and good learning; and else, the truth is, he would shew me nothing, but bade me be careless, and said, there were informations [instructions] how all things were for to be done; the which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were, before we were entered in the visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning.

Now, when I *had* seen the instructions, the truth is, I thought, peradventure, the master and company would have surrendered up their college; but when their consent, after labour and travail taken therein two days, could not be obtained, and then we began secretly to consult (all the commissioners thinking it best that every man should say his mind plainly, that in execution there might appear but one way to be taken of all) there when it was seen to[a] some, that without the consent of the present incumbents, by the king's absolute power, we might proceed to the uniting of the two colleges, I did in my course simply and plainly declare my conscience, and that there only, secretly, among ourselves alone, with all kind of softness, so that no man could be justly offended. Also I perceive, by your grace's letters, I have been noted of some for my barking there; and yet to bark, lest God should be offended, I cannot deny, but indeed it is a part of my profession; for God's word condemneth the dumb dogs that will not bark and give warning of God's displeasure.

[a] seen to, i.e. thought by.

As for that that was suggested to your grace, that by my aforesaid barking I should dishonour the king's majesty, and dissuade others from the execution of the king's commission, God is my judge, I intended, according to my duty to God and the king, the maintenance and defence of his highness' royal honour and dignity. If that be true, that I believe is true, which the prophet saith, *Honor regis judicium diligit;* and as the commissioners must needs, and I am sure will all testify, that I dissuaded no man, but contrariwise exhorted every man (with the quiet of other) to satisfy their own conscience; desiring only, that if it should otherwise be seen unto them, that I might, either by my absence or silence, satisfy mine. The which my plainness when some otherwise than according to my expectation did take, I was moved thereupon (both for the good opinion I had, and yet have, of your grace's goodness, and also specially because your grace had commanded me so to do) to open my mind, by my private letters, freely unto your grace.

And thus I trust your grace perceiveth now, both that anon, after knowledge had, I did utter my conscience; and also that the matter was not opened unto me before the visitation was two days begun.

If in this I did amiss, that before the knowledge of the instructions I was ready to grant to the execution of the commission; truly I had rather herein acknowledge my fault, and submit myself to your grace's correction, than after knowledge had, then wittingly and willingly commit that thing whereunto my conscience doth not agree, for fear of God's displeasure.

It is a godly wish that is wished in your grace's letters, that flesh, and blood, and country, might not more weigh with some men than godliness and reason; but the truth is, country in this matter, whatsoever some men do suggest unto your grace, shall not move me; and that your grace shall well perceive, for I shall be as ready, as any other, first thence to expel some of my own country, if the report which is made of them can be tried true.

And as for that your grace saith of flesh and blood, that is, the favour or fear of mortal man: yea, marry, sir, that is a matter of weight indeed, and the truth is, (alas, my own

feebleness!) of that I am afraid. But I beseech your grace, yet once again, give me good leave, wherein here I fear my own frailty, to confess the truth. Before God, there is no man this day, (leaving the king's majesty for the honour only excepted) whose favour or displeasure I do either seek or fear, as your grace's favour or displeasure; for under God, both your grace's authority, and my bounden duty for your grace's benefits, bind me so to do. So that if the desire of any man's favour, or fear of displeasure, should weigh more with me than godliness and reason; truly, (if I may be bold to say the truth), I must needs say, that I am most in danger to offend herein, either for desire of your grace's favour, or for fear of your grace's displeasure. And yet I shall not cease (God willing) daily to pray God so to stay and strengthen my frailty with holy fear, that I do not commit the thing for favour or fear of any mortal man, whereby my conscience may threaten me with the loss of the favour of the living God, but that it may please him, of his gracious goodness, (howsoever the world goes) to blow this in the ears of my heart, *Deus dissipavit ossa eorum qui hominibus placuerint*[1]; and this, *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*[2]; and again, *Nolite timere eos qui occidunt corpus*[3].

Wherefore I most humbly beseech your grace, for God's love, not to be offended with me, for renewing of this my suit unto your grace, which is that, whereunto my conscience cannot well agree, if any such thing chance in this visitation, I may, with your grace's favour, have license, either by mine absence or silence, or other like means, to keep my conscience quiet. I wish your grace, in God, honour and endless felicity. From Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, June 1, 1549[4].

Your grace's humble and daily orator,

NICH. ROFFEN.

[1] God hath scattered the bones of those who pleased men. ED.]

[2] It is a horrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God. ED.]

[3] Fear not them which kill the body. ED.]

[4] The Protector's reply to this letter will be found, Appendix V.]

LETTER II. (Burnet.)

A Letter of that true Pastor and worthy Martyr, Doctor Ridley; *wherein you may see the singular zeal he had to the glory of God, and the furtherance of his Gospel. Written to* Master Cheke, *in King Edward's days.*

Master Cheke, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, in God's cause, for God's sake, and in his name, I beseech you of your help and furtherance towards God's word. I did talk with you of late, what case I was in concerning my chaplains. I have gotten the good will and grant[a] (to be with me), of three preachers, men of good learning, and, as I am persuaded, of excellent virtue; which are able, both with life and learning, to set forth God's word in London, and in the whole diocese of the same, where is most need of all parts in England; for from thence goeth example, as you know, into all the rest of the king's majesty's whole realm. The men's names be these. Master Grindall, whom you know to be a man of virtue and learning. Master Bradford, a man by whom (as I am assuredly informed) God hath and doth work wonders, in setting forth of his word. The third is a preacher, the which, for detecting and confuting of the anabapists and papists in Essex, both by his preaching and by his writing, is enforced now to bear Christ's cross. The two first be scholars in the university. The third is as poor as either of the other twain. Now there is fallen a prebend in Paul's called Cantrells[5], by the death of one Layton. This

[a] consent.

[5] The Prebendary of Kentish-Town, Kentissetune, or Cantlers, and sometime Kentillers, alias Kentish-Town, hath the Tenth Stall on the right side of the choir; and the corps of his prebend lies in the parish of St Pancras, Middlesex.

Grindall does not appear from the list of prebendaries to have succeeded; for Richard Layton was appointed on the resignation of W. Kemp, May 9, 1523; William Layton was appointed on the death of Richard Layton, Oct. 17, 1544; and John Bradford (the martyr) was appointed on the death of Richard Layton by Bishop Ridley, Aug. 24, 1551; and he was succeeded after his martyrdom by John Feckenham, Jan. 25, 1553.

Edmund Grindall was appointed *Præcentor* of St Paul's by Bishop Ridley, Aug. 24, 1551, which he resigned in 1554.

John Rogers was made Prebendary of St Pancras, Aug. 24, 1551; burnt Feb. 4, 1555. See Newcourt's Repertorium of the Diocese of

prebend is an honest man's living, of thirty-four pounds and better in the king's books. I would with all my heart give it unto Master Grindall; and so I should have him continually with me, and in my diocese, to preach.

[b] hindered.

But alas, sir, I am letted[b] by the means (I fear me) of such as do not fear God. One Master William Thomas, one of the clerks to the council, hath in times past set the council upon me, to have me to grant that Layton might have alienated the said prebend unto him and his heirs for ever. God was mine aid and defender, that I did not consent unto his ungodly enterprise. Yet I was so then handled before the council, that I granted that whensoever it should fall, I should not give it, before I should make the king's majesty privy unto it and of acknowledge[c], before the collation of it. Now Layton is departed, and the prebend is fallen, and certain of the council (no doubt, by this ungodly man's means,) have written unto me to stay the collation. And whereas he despaireth that ever I would assent that a preacher's living should be bestowed on him, he hath procured letters unto me, subscribed with certain of the council's hands, that now the king's majesty hath determined it unto the furniture[d] of his highness' stable. Alas, sir, this is a heavy hearing. When papistry was taught, there was nothing too little for the teachers. When the bishop gave his benefices unto idiots, unlearned, ungodly, for kindred, for pleasure, for service, and other worldly respects, all was then well allowed. Now, where a poor living is to be given unto an excellent clerk, a man known and tried to have both discretion and also virtue, and such a one as, before God, I do not know a man (yet unplaced and unprovided for) more meet, to set forth God's word in all England; when a poor living (I say), which is founded for a preacher, is to be given unto such a man, that then an ungodly person shall procure in this sort letters to stop and let[e] the same, alas, Master Cheke, this seemeth unto me to be a right heavy hearing. Is this the fruit of the Gospel? Speak, Master Cheke, speak, for God's sake, in God's cause, unto whomsoever you think may do any good withal. And if you will not speak, then I be-

[c] of cognizance, acquainted.

[d] maintenance.

[e] hinder.

London, vol. i. pp. 27, 101, 169, 196. Grindall was made a Prebendary of *Westminster* in July, 1552. Ed.]

seech you, let these my letters speak unto Master Gates, to Master Wroth, to Master Cecil, whom all I do take for men that do fear God.

It was said here constantly my Lord Chamberlain to have been departed. Sir, though the day be delayed, yet he hath no pardon of long life: and therefore I do beseech his good lordship, and so many as shall read these letters, if they fear God, to help that neither horse, neither yet dog, be suffered to devour the poor livings appointed and founded by godly ordinance to the ministers of God's word. The causes of conscience, which do move me to speak and write thus, are not only those which I declared once in the cause of this prebend before the king's majesty's council, which now I let pass; but also now the man Master Grindall, unto whom I would give this prebend, doth move me very much; for he is a man known to be both of virtue, honesty, discretion, wisdom, and learning. And besides all this, I have a better opinion of the king's majesty's honourable council, than (although some of them have subscribed, at this their clerk's crafty and ungodly suit, to such a letter) than, I say, they will let[f], and not suffer, after request made unto them, the living appointed and founded for a preacher, to be bestowed upon so honest and well a learned man.

[f] hinder.

Wherefore for God's sake, I beseech you all, help that, with the favour of the council, I may have knowledge of the king's majesty's good pleasure, to give this preacher's living unto Master Grindall. Of late there have been letters directed from the king's majesty and his honourable council unto all the bishops, whereby we be charged and commanded, both in our own persons, and also to cause our preachers and ministers, especially to cry out against the insatiable serpent of covetousness, whereby is said to be such a greediness amongst the people, that each one goeth about to devour other; and to threaten them with God's grievous plagues, both now presently thrown upon them, and that shall be likewise in the world to come. Sir, what preachers shall I get to open and set forth such matters, and so as the king's majesty and the council do command them to be set forth, if either ungodly men, or unreasonable beasts, be suffered to pull away and devour the good and godly learned preachers'

livings? Thus I wish you, in God, ever well to face and to help Christ's cause, as you would have help of him at your most need.

From Fulham this present, the 23rd of July, 1551.

Yours in Christ,

NICHOLAS LONDON.

LETTER III. (BURNET.)

A Letter written by BISHOP RIDLEY *to his well-beloved the Preachers within the Diocese of London setting forth the sins of those times.*

AFTER hearty commendations,—having regard[1], especially at this time, to the wrath of God, who hath plagued us diversely, and now with extreme punishment of sudden death poured upon us, for causes best known unto his high and secret judgment; but as it may seem unto man, for our wicked living which daily increases, so that not only in our conversations the fear of God is, alas! far gone from before our eyes, but also the world is grown into that uncharitableness, that one, as it appears plainly, goes about to devour another, moved with insatiable covetousness, and contrary to God's word and will, and to the extreme peril and damnation of Christ's flock, bought so dearly with his precious blood, and to the utter destruction of this whole commonwealth, except God's anger be shortly appeased. Wherein, according to my bounden duty, I shall, God willing, in my own person, be diligent and labour; and I also exhort and require you, first in God's name, and by authority of him committed unto me in that behalf, and also in the king's majesty's name, from whom I have authority and special commandment thus to do—that as you are called to be setters forth of God's word, and to express the same in your lives, so now in your exhortations and sermons, most wholesomely and earnestly, tell unto men their sins, with God's punishments lately poured upon us for the same, now before our eyes; according to that word, "Tell unto my people

[1 These words "having regard" seem to refer to the "letters" mentioned in the preceding letter. ED.]

their wickednesses." And especially beat down and destroy, with all your power and ability, that greedy and devouring serpent of covetousness, which now so universally reigns. Call upon God for repentance, and excite to common prayer and amendment of life, with most earnest petitions, that hereby God's hand may be stayed, the world amended, and obedience of subjects and faithfulness of ministers declared accordingly. Thus I bid you heartily well to fare.

From London, July 25, 1551.

Yours in Christ,

NICHOLAS LONDON.

LETTER IV. (STRYPE.)

BISHOP RIDLEY *to* DOCTOR PARKER.

MR DOCTOR, I wish you grace and peace. Sir, I pray you refuse not to take a day at the Cross[2]. I may have, if I would call without any choice, enow; but in some, alas! I desire more learning, in some a better judgment, in some more virtue and godly conversation, and in some more soberness and discretion; and he in whom all these do meet shall not do well, in my judgment, to refuse to serve God in that place. Of which number because I take you to be, therefore, (leaving at this time to charge you with answering for the contrary to the king and his council), I must charge you to take a day as you will answer the contrary to Almighty God at your own peril. If the day be thought not commodious for you, I shall appoint another for it. But if I should discharge you from that place,—for the time hereafter in good faith my conscience should accuse me, and tell me that I did rather go about to satisfy your request, (whom, the truth is, as your kindness hath bound me, I should be glad to gratify) than to set forth God's cause. Thus fare you well, from my house in London; and I pray you commend me to Mrs Parker, whom although I do not know, yet, for the fame of her virtue, in God I do love.

Yours in Christ,

25 July, 1551. NICHOLAS LONDON.

[2 Paul's Cross. ED.]

LETTER V.

To Sir John Gate *and* Sir W. Cecil, *from the Lansdowne MS. in the British Museum.*

Dr Ridley, *Bishop of London, to* Sir John Gate, *Vice-Chamberlain, and* Sir W. Cecil, *Secretary to Edw. VI. for their interest with the King, that he might have the nomination of the Person to be appointed to the Chantership of St Paul's, about to be vacant by* Mr Grindall's *translation to a Bishopric, Nov.* 18, 1552.

Right Honourable,

[The passages in Italics in this letter are underlined in the original. Ed.]

Although, if I would believe every tale, I might fear rather that ye are offended with me, than to think to obtain any pleasure at your hands, and so to be more afraid of your displeasure, than to hope to speed my request; yet nevertheless, because my conscience doth bear me witness, that neither in heart nor in deed *I have given, or minded to give either* of your worships *just occasion to be offended with me*, nor (God willing) never intend to do; therefore I will, by your leave, be bold with you, in God's cause, even to require you, as I have heretofore been wont to do; for I take this for a true saying: *frons tenera magna conscientia sustinetur.* It may please you to wit, that I understand by the constant rumour which is now spread about in London, that Mr Grindall is or shall be named to be a Bishop in the North parts, of whose preferment I ensure you I give God hearty thanks, that it hath pleased God to move the heart of the King's Majesty to choose such a man of such godly qualities unto such a room. Now, good Mr Vice-Chamberlain and Mr Secretary, ye know both how I did bestow of late three or four prebends, which did fall in my time, and what manner of men they be unto whom I gave them, Grindall, Bradford and Rogers, men known to be so necessary to be abroad in the commonwealth, that I can keep none of them with me in my house. Ye know, I am placed, where *I have daily need of learned men's counsel and conference:* wherefore I beseech you *for God's sake, be so good unto this See of London*, which is the *Spectacle of all England*, as to be petitioners for me in God's cause unto the King's Majesty, that seeing

his highness doth perceive, that I did *so well bestow* the Prebend, which Mr Grindall hath of my collation, it may please the same to grant me of his gracious clemency the collation of the same again, that I may therewith call some other like learned man, whom hereafter by God's grace his highness shall think meet likewise to promote, as Mr Grindall is now. If ye would know, unto whom I would this dignity of our church, called the chantership, should be given, surely unto any one of these, either unto Mr Bradford, whom in my conscience I judge more worthy to be a Bishop, than many [a one] of us that be Bishops already, to be a parish priest; or unto Mr Sampson, a preacher; or unto Mr Harvey, a divine and preacher; or unto Mr Grimbold, a preacher; or unto Dr Lancelot Ridley, a preacher: if it would please your goodness to be suitors for me, (nay, not for me, but for God's word's sake), unto the King's Majesty, that the collation may be given unto me for one of these, or any one of these, then I shall surely praise God in you, and think myself ever bound to render unto Almighty God for you entire and hearty thanks. Thus I wish you both, in God, well to fare. From my house in London, this 18th day of November, 1552.

Yours in Christ,

Nic. London.

LETTER VI. (Coverdale.)

An Answer to a Letter written unto him by West, *sometime his Chaplain*[1].

I wish your grace in God, and love of the truth; without the which truly established in men's hearts by the mighty

[1 West had been chaplain to Bishop Ridley, but turned to popery in Queen Mary's reign, and, in the beginning of April 1555, he wrote to the bishop, earnestly and affectionately persuading him to consider the danger he was in, and exhorting him not "to stand against learning, or in vain glory," but to return to the church of Rome, for "he must either agree or die." This letter was written in answer: but though West was convinced by it he had done wrong, he wanted courage to renounce his preferments and the world. For some further particulars of West, see the letter of Ridley in reply to that of Grindall, dated from Frankfort, 6 May, 1555. Ed.]

hand of Almighty God, it is no more possible to stand by the truth in Christ in time of trouble, than it is for the wax to abide the heat of the fire. Sir, know you this, that I am (blessed be God!) persuaded that this world is but transitory,
1 John ii. and (as St John saith) "the world passeth away and the lust
Matt. x. thereof." I am persuaded Christ's words to be true—"Whosoever shall confess me before men, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven;" and I believe that no earthly creature shall be saved, whom the Redeemer and Saviour of the world shall before his Father deny. This the Lord grant that it may be so grafted, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high nor low, life nor death, be able to remove me thence! It is a goodly wish that you wish me, deeply to consider things pertaining unto God's glory: but if you had wished also that neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity, should
[a] hinder. let[a] me to maintain God's word and his truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me, for God's sake, to remember myself. Indeed, Sir, now it is time so to do; for so far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger than of the loss both of body and soul; and, I trow, then it is time for a man to
Luke xii. awake, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threateneth to cast both body and soul into everlasting fire, whom will he fear? With this fear, O Lord, fasten thou together our frail flesh, that we never swerve from thy laws. You say you have made much suit for me. Sir, God grant that you have not in sueing for my worldly deliverance impaired and hindered the furtherance of God's word and his truth. You have known me long indeed, in the which time it hath chanced me (as you say) to mislike some things. It is true, I grant: for sudden changes without substantial and necessary cause, and the heady setting forth of extremities, I did never love. Confession unto the minister which is able to instruct, correct, comfort, and inform the weak, wounded, and ignorant conscience, indeed I ever thought might do much good in Christ's congregation, and so, I assure you, I think even at this day. My doctrine and my preaching, you say, you have heard often, and after your judgment have thought it godly, saving only for the sacra-

ment; which thing although it was of me reverently handled, and a great deal better than of the rest (as you say), yet in the margin you write warily, and in this world wisely—"and yet methought all sounded not well." Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my friend, and a man whom I fancied for plainness and faithfulness, as much (I assure you) as for your learning: and have you kept this so close in your heart from me unto this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you to care what I think, for any thing that I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good lessons, to stand in nothing against my learning[1], and to beware of vain-glory. Truly, Sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by God's grace I intend to follow it unto my life's end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avail me. For this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, methink I were to blame. Sir, how nigh the day of my dissolution and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lord's will be fulfilled, how soon soever it shall come. I know the Lord's words must be verified on me, that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercy is my sheet-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whosoever wittingly neglecteth and regardeth not to clear his conscience, he cannot have peace with God nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me (considering you were one of my family and one of my household, of whom then I think I had a special cure, and of all them which were within my house; which indeed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my cure, not only of

[1 To rely in no point upon my learning, or to insist on nothing contrary to my better knowledge. Ed.]

good life, but also in promoting of God's word to the uttermost of their power: but alas! now when the trial doth separate the chaff from the corn, how small a deal it is, God knoweth, which the wind doth not blow away! This con-

[b] knowledge, the knowing this.

science[b], I say, doth move me) to fear lest the lightness of my family shall be laid to my charge, for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction which should have been done. But blessed be God, which hath given me grace to see this my default, and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence. This conscience doth move me also now to require both you and my friend Doctor Harvey, to remember your promises made to me in times past, of the pure setting forth and preaching of God's word and his truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you as my friends), but to be charged with them at God's hand. This conscience and the love that I bear unto you biddeth me now say unto you both in God's name, Fear God, and love not the world; for God

Psal. ii.

is able to cast both body and soul into hell fire. "When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him." And the saying of St John is true:

1 John ii.

"All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world; and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever." If this gift of grace, which undoubtedly is necessarily required unto eternal salvation, were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in men's hearts; they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and confession of the truth, as is now, alas! seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here, peradventure,

John xvii.

you would know of me what is the truth. Sir, God's word is the truth, as St John saith, and that even the same that was heretofore. For albeit man doth vary and change as

Ecclus. xxvii. Heb. xiii.

the moon, yet God's word is stable and abideth one for evermore: and of Christ it is truly said, Christ yesterday and to-day, the same is also for ever.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in God's word, agreed this to be a truth in God's word written;

that the common prayer of the church should be had in the common tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I ensure[c] you I never found man (so far as I do re- [c] assure.
member), neither old nor new, gospeller nor papist, of what judgment soever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If then it were a truth of God's word, think you that the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this truth, received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else, to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the truth taught in God's word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing have I brought for an ensample: other things be in like case, which now particularly I need not to rehearse. For he that will forsake wittingly, either for fear or gain of the world, any one open truth of God's word; if he be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his truth, rather than he will endanger himself to lose or to leave that he loveth better in deed than he doth God and the truth of his word. I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die; and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But what folly were it then to make such an agreement, by the which I could never escape this death, which is so common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation! Lord, grant that I may utterly abhor and detest this damnable agreement so long as I live. And because (I dare say) you wrote of friendship unto me this short earnest advertisement, and, I think, verily wishing me to live and not to die; therefore, bearing you in my heart no less love in God than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the word of the Lord (and that I say to you I say to all my friends and lovers in God), that if you do not confess and maintain, to your power and knowledge, that which is grounded upon God's word, but will, either for fear or gain of the world, shrink and play the *Apostata*, indeed you shall die the death: you know what I mean. And I beseech you all, my true friends and lovers in God, remember what I say; for this

Apostata was he which fled from his captain to the enemy.

He was also so called that departed from the Christians to the Jews and Gentiles.

may be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write unto you.

From Bocardo in Oxford, the 8th day of April, 1554.

N. R.

LETTER VII. (Coverdale.)

To the brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in unity of spirit and holy religion, in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.

Grace, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my brethren? namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lord; who (notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that goeth about by all manner of subtle means to beguile the world, and also busily laboureth to restore and set up his kingdom again, that of late began to decay and fall to ruin), ye remain yet still unmoveable as men surely grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his soldiers and wicked ministers daily (as we hear) draweth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him that he

Apoc. xii. plucketh even the very stars out of heaven, whilst he driveth into some men the fear of death and loss of all their goods, and sheweth and offereth to other some the pleasant baits of the world, namely, riches, wealth and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fat benefices, and what not? and all to the intent they should fall down and worship (not in the Lord, but in the dragon, the old ser-

Apoc. xviii. pent, which is the devil,) that great beast and his image, and should be enticed to commit fornication with the strumpet of Babylon, together with the kings of the earth, with the lesser beast, and with the false prophets, and so to rejoice and be pleasant with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication; yet blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath given unto you a manly courage, and hath so strengthened you in the inward man by the power of his Spirit, that you can contemn as well all the

terrors, as also the vain flattering allurements of the world, esteeming them as vanities, mere trifles, and things of nought: who hath also wrought, planted, and surely stablished in your hearts so stedfast a faith and love of our Lord Jesus Christ, joined with such constancy, that by no engines of antichrist, be they never so terrible or plausible, ye will suffer any other Jesus or any other Christ to be forced upon you, besides him whom the prophets have spoken of before, the Apostles have preached, and the holy martyrs of God have confessed and testified with the effusion of their blood. "In this faith stand ye fast, my brethren, and suffer not yourselves to be brought under the yoke of bondage and superstition any more." For ye know, brethren, how that our Saviour warned his beforehand, that such should come as would point unto the world another Christ, and would set him out with so many false miracles and with such deceivable and subtle practices, that even the very elect (if it were possible) should be thereby deceived; such strong delusion to come did our Saviour give warning of before. But continue ye faithful and constant, and be of good comfort: and remember that our grand Captain hath overcome the world; "for he that is in us is stronger than he that is in the world," and the Lord promiseth unto us, that for the elect's sake the days of wickedness shall be shortened. In the mean season abide ye, and endure with patience as ye have begun; endure, I say, and reserve yourselves unto better times, as one of the heathen poets said. Cease not to shew yourselves valiant soldiers of the Lord, and help to maintain the travailing[a] faith of the Gospel. "Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye may receive the promises. For yet a very little while, and he that shall come will come and will not tarry; and the just shall live by faith: but if any withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him, saith the Lord. But we are not they which do withdraw ourselves unto damnation, but believe unto the salvation of the soul." Let us not suffer these words of Christ to fail out of our hearts, by any manner of terrors or threatenings of the world: "Fear not them which kill the body." The rest ye know. For I write not unto you as to men which are ignorant of the truth, but which know the truth: and to this end only, that we, agree-

Gal. v.

1 John iv.

Virgil's Æneid, I.

[a] suffering. Heb. x.

Matt. x.

ing together in one faith, may take comfort one of another, and be the more confirmed and strengthened thereby. We never had a better or a more just cause either to contemn our life, or shed our blood: we cannot take in hand the defence of a more certain, clear, and manifest truth. For it is not any ceremony for the which we contend; but it toucheth the very substance of our whole religion, yea, even Christ himself. Shall we, either[b] can we, receive and acknowledge any other Christ, instead of him who is alone the everlasting Son of the everlasting Father, and is the brightness of the glory, and lively image of the substance, of the Father? in whom only dwelleth corporally the fulness of the Godhead, who is the only way, the truth, and the life? Let such wickedness, my brethren, let such horrible wickedness, be far from us. For although there be that are called gods, whether in heaven, either in earth, as there be many gods and many lords, yet unto us there is but one God, which is the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him: but every man hath not knowledge. "This is life eternal (saith St John,) that they know thee to be the only true God, and him whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." If any therefore would force upon us any other God, besides him whom Paul and the Apostles have taught, let us not hear him, but let us fly from him and hold him accursed. Brethren, ye are not ignorant of the deep and profound subtleties of Satan; for he will not cease to range about you, seeking by all means possible whom he may devour: but play ye the men, and be of good comfort in the Lord. And albeit your enemies and the adversaries of the truth, armed with all worldly force and power that may be, do set upon you; yet be not ye faint-hearted, nor shrink not therefore: but trust unto your captain Christ, trust unto the Spirit of truth, and trust to the truth of your cause; which, as it may by the malice of Satan be darkened, so can it never be clean put out. For we have (high praise be given to God therefore!) most plainly, evidently, and clearly on our side all the prophets, all the apostles, and undoubtedly all the ancient ecclesiastical writers which have written until of late years past. Let us be hearty and of good courage therefore, and tho-

[b] or.

John xvii.

roughly comfort ourselves in the Lord. "Be in no ways afraid of your adversaries; for that which is to them an occasion of perdition, is to you a sure token of salvation, and that of God. For unto you it is given, that not only ye should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake." And when ye are railed upon for the name of Christ, remember that by the voice of Peter, yea, and of Christ our Saviour also, ye are counted, with the prophets, with the apostles, and with the holy martyrs of Christ, "happy and blessed therefore;" for the glory and Spirit of God resteth upon you. On their part our Saviour Christ is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified. For what can they else do unto you by persecuting you, and working all cruelty and villainy against you, but make your crowns more glorious, yea, beautify and multiply the same, and heap upon themselves the horrible plagues and heavy wrath of God? And therefore, good brethren, though they rage never so fiercely against us, yet let us not wish evil unto them again; knowing that, while for Christ's cause they vex and persecute us, they are like madmen, most outrageous and cruel against themselves, heaping hot burning coals upon their own heads: but rather let us wish well unto them, "knowing that we are thereunto called in Christ Jesu, that we should be heirs of the blessing." Let us pray therefore unto God, that he would drive out of their hearts this darkness of errors, and make the light of his truth to shine unto them; that they, acknowledging their blindness, may with all humble repentance be converted unto the Lord, and together with us confess him to be the only true God, which is the Father of lights, and his only Son Jesus Christ, worshipping him in spirit and verity. Amen.

Phil. i.

1 Pet. iv.

1 Pet. iii.

The Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ comfort your hearts in the love of God and patience of Christ. Amen.

Your brother in the Lord (whose name the bearer shall signify unto you), ready always, by the grace of God, to live and die with you.

THE SAME IN LATIN.

(Coverdale.)

Ad fratres in captivitate carnis, et per varios carceres dispersos, sed in unitate Spiritus atque sacrosanctæ religionis in visceribus Jesu Christi conglutinatos.

Gratia vobis et pax ac misericordia multiplicetur. Quam gratiarum actionem pro vobis, fratres, reddere possumus Domino super omni consolatione quam de vobis concepimus in Domino? qui (Satana sæviente, et per omnia fallaciarum genera mundo imponere studente, et regnum suum, jampridem collabascere ruinamque minitari incipiens, erigere atque denuo instaurare sedulo satagente), tanquam in petra firmissime fundati, permanetis immobiles. Jamque licet Satan per suos satellites ac ministros multos, ut audivimus, quo-
Apoc. xii. tidie pertrahat ad sese, ut stellas etiam e cœlo prosternere dicatur, aliis nimirum metum mortis, aut amissionis commo-
Apoc. xviii. dorum hujus mundi, incutiendo; aliis pollicendo, aut ostentando illecebras hujus mundi, opes videlicet, atque omnis generis lautitias, ædes amplas, lata prædia, opima sacerdotia, ac quid non? uti prostrati adorent (non in Domino, sed in dracone, serpente antiquo qui est diabolus), magnam illam bestiam et imaginem ejus, utque cum regibus terræ, et minore bestia, et pseudo-prophetis, scortari velint cum Babylonica meretrice, et cum illa lætari atque luxuriari, et de vino prostitutionis ejus inebriari: benedictus tamen Deus et pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui vobis dedit pectus masculum; quique fortitudine spiritus ita vos in interno homine corroboravit, ut isthæc omnia sive terriculamenta, sive hujus mundi illecebras, pro vanitatibus ac meris nugis nihilique tricis contemnere possitis; quique ita cordibus vestris tantam constantiam, fiduciam, ac amorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi persuasit, insevit, alteque impressit, ut nullis Antichristi machinis, quantumvis alioqui aut terribilibus aut plausibilibus, sinatis
Matt. xxiv. vobis alium Jesum aut alium Christum, præter eum quem prophetæ prædixerunt, apostoli annunciaverunt, et sancti Dei martyres suo sanguine confessi sunt. In hac fide, fratres, state, et ne rursus jugo servitutis aut superstitionis implicemini. Nostis enim, fratres, quemadmodum Servator noster præmonuit suos futurum, ut venirent qui alium Christum

mundo ostentarent, eumque tot miraculorum et fallaciarum dolis atque fraudibus commendarent, ut electi quoque, si fieri posset, seducerentur: tam fortem futuram esse prædixit illusionem Salvator. Sed durate, fratres, atque confidite, et memineritis mundum a nostro Agonotheta devictum esse. "Major enim est qui in nobis est, quam qui est in mundo:" 1 John iv. et pollicetur nobis Dominus, ut propter electos dies malitiæ abbrevientur. Interea vos, quod facitis, fratres, durate; durate, inquam, et vosmet rebus, ut quidam gentilium poetarum Virgil's Æneid I. dixit, servate secundis: pergite præbere vos strenuos athletas Domini, et adjuvate decertantem evangelii fidem. "Patientia Heb. x. vobis opus est, ut cum voluntatem Domini peregeritis, reportetis promissionem. Adhuc enim pusillum temporis, et qui venturus est veniet, et non tardabit. Justus enim ex fide victurus est; et si se subduxerit, non probabitur animo meo, dicit Dominus. At nos non sumus qui subducimus nos in perditionem, sed ad fidem pertinemus in acquisitionem animæ." Non sinamus, fratres, ullis mundi tonitruis verba illa Christi nostris cordibus excidere: "ne terreamini ab illis qui Matt. x. occidunt corpus." Reliqua nôstis. Non enim scribo vobis ut ignorantibus veritatem, sed ut eam cognoscentibus, tantum ut per mutuam fidem consolationem communem capiamus confirmemusque. Nulla unquam melior aut major causa vel contemnendæ vitæ vel profundendi sanguinis. Nulla esse potest causa aut certioris veritatis, evidentiæ, aut claritatis. Non enim agitur controversia de ceremoniola aliqua, sed de substantia universæ religionis nostræ, adeoque de Christo ipso. Num alium Christum, pro eo qui solus est æterni Patris æternus filius, qui est splendor gloriæ et expressa imago substantiæ Patris, in quo uno plenitudo divinitatis corporaliter inhabitat, qui est solus via, veritas et vita, admittere agnoscereque volumus aut possumus? Absit, fratres, absit tanta procul impietas a nobis. "Nam quanquam etiam sint 1 Cor. viii. qui dicantur dii, sive in cœlo sive in terra, quemadmodum sunt dii multi et domini multi, nobis tamen unus est Deus, qui est Pater, ille ex quo omnia, et nos in illum, et unus Dominus Christus, per quem omnia, et nos per illum:" sed non in omnibus est scientia. "Hæc est (inquit Johannes) John xvii. vita æterna; ut cognoscant te solum verum Deum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum." Si quis igitur nobis alium Deum

obtrudere velit, præter eum quem Paulus et Apostoli docuerunt, non audiamus, sed ut anathema procul fugiamus. Profunditates Satanæ non ignoratis, fratres; non enim cessabit ille circumire vos, ut quærat quovis modo quem devoret. Sed viriliter agite, et comfortemini in Domino: et licet hostes vestri et adversarii veritatis omnibus mundi præsidiis muniti fuerint, et vos adoriantur, nolite tamen propterea animum despondere, sed confidite duci vestro Christo, confidite Spiritui veritatis et veritati causæ, vestræ, quæ, ut tenebris per nequitiam Satanæ obduci, ita extingui non potest. Stant enim a nobis (ingentes Deo gratiæ!) certissime, evidentissimeque, clarissimeque, omnes prophetæ, apostoli, et omnes proculdubio veteres ecclesiastici scriptores usque ad tempora neotericorum. Confidamus ergo, et plenam in Domino capiamus con-
Phil. i. solationem: "nec terreamini ab adversariis; quæ enim illis causa est perditionis, vobis autem salutis, et hoc a Deo; quia vobis donatum est non solum ut in eum credatis, verum etiam ut pro illo patiamini." Et dum probris afficiamini nomine Christi, cogitate vos voce Petri, imo et Christi salvatoris, beatos esse cum prophetis, cum apostolis, cum martyribus
1 Pet. iv. Christi, "quoniam gloria et Spiritus Domini super vos requiescit. Juxta illos Servator noster maledictis afficitur, juxta vos glorificatur:" quid enim aliud, vos persequendo aut etiam crudeliora designando, vobis facere possunt, quam vestras vobis coronas insignire, ornare, et multiplicare, sibi vero plagas suas et iras Dei graves accumulare et aggravare? Ergo ne tum quidem, cum maxime in nos debacchantur, male precemur illis, fratres; scientes quoniam dum nos ob Christum
Rom. xii. insectantur, in seipsos maxime sæviunt, "ardentesque in capita
1 Pet. iii. propria carbones congerunt:" sed bene precemur potius; "scientes nos in Christo vocatos esse ut benedictionem hæreditate possideamus." Precemur ergo, ut Dominus è cordibus eorum errorum tenebras dispellat, et veritatis lucem illis faciat illucescere; ut, agnitis erroribus, supplices pœnitudine ad Dominum convertantur, et nobiscum solum illum verum Deum qui est pater luminum, et ejus unicum filium Dominum Jesum Christum, agnoscant, atque in spiritu et veritate adorent. Amen.

Vester in Domino frater (quem tabellarius vobis denuntiabit), per Dei gratiam ad convivendum et commoriendum.

LETTER VIII. (COVERDALE.)

To the brethren which constantly cleave unto Christ, in suffering affliction with him, and for his sake.

GRACE and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, be multiplied unto you, Amen.—Although, brethren, we have of late heard nothing from you, neither have at this present any news to send you; yet we thought good something to write unto you, whereby ye might understand that we have good remembrance of you continually, as we doubt not but ye have of us also. When this messenger, coming unto us from you of late, had brought us good tidings of your great constancy, fortitude, and patience in the Lord, we were filled with much joy and gladness; giving thanks to God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath caused his face so to shine upon you, and with the light of spiritual understanding hath so lightened your hearts, that now, being in captivity and bands for Christ's cause, ye have not ceased, as much as in you lieth, by words, but much more by deed and by your example, to stablish and confirm that thing which, when ye were at liberty in the world, ye laboured to publish and set abroad by the word and doctrine; that is to say, "holding fast the word of life, ye shine as lights in the world, in the midst of a wicked and crooked nation:" and that with so much the greater glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and profit of your brethren, by how much Satan more cruelly now rageth, and busily laboureth to darken the light of the Gospel. Phil. ii.

And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who needeth to doubt thereof? Of late time, our Saviour Christ, his apostles, prophets, and teachers, spake in the temple to the people of England in the English tongue, so that they might be understood plainly and without any hardness[a] of the godly, and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters which, of necessity of salvation, pertained to the obtaining of eternal life. But now those things which once were written of them for the edifying of the congregation, are read in a strange tongue without interpretation; manifestly against St

[a] difficulty.

Paul's commandment; so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned that strange and unknown tongue. Of late days those heavenly mysteries, whereby Christ hath engraffed us into his body, and hath united us one to another, whereby being also regenerate and born anew unto God, he hath nourished, increased, and strengthened us, whereby moreover either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are whole, or else to the sick in soul or body hath given, as it were, wholesome medicines and remedies—those, I say, were all plainly set forth to the people in their own language; so that, what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by God's ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation and was bound to observe, where remedy was to be had for the weak and feeble,—he to whom God hath given a desire and willing heart to understand those things, might soon perceive and understand: but now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the people redeemed with Christ's blood, and for whose sakes they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all. Of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray as we ought), our Lord Jesus Christ in his prayer, whereof he would have no man ignorant, and also the Holy Ghost in the psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, which are set forth in the bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English tongue, that they might ask such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in prayer together: but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the people neither can tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voices together, when they understand no more what the voice signifieth, than a brute beast? Finally, I here say, that the catechism which was lately set forth in the English tongue, is now in every pulpit condemned. Oh devilish malice, and most spitefully injurious to the salvation of mankind purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not long suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough, that

nothing was able to overthrow his kingdom so much as if children, being godly instructed in religion, should learn to know Christ while they are yet young; whereby not only children, but the elder sort also, and aged folks, that before were not taught to know Christ in their childhood, should now, even with children and babes, be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth. But what else do they, brethren, which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of this impiety, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threateneth this curse in the Gospel? "Woe unto you which shut up the kingdom of heaven before men, and take away the key of knowledge from them; ye yourselves have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter to come in." And from whence shall we say, brethren, that this horrible and mischievous darkness proceedeth, which is now brought into the world? from whence, I pray you, "but even from the smoke of the great furnace, the bottomless pit, so that the sun and the air are now darkened by the smoke of the pit?" Now, even now, out of doubt, brethren, the pit is opened amongst us, and the locusts begin to swarm, and Abaddon now reigneth. Ye therefore, my brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the seal of God marked on your foreheads, that is to wit, are sealed up with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar people unto God, quit yourselves like men, and be strong; for he that is in us, is stronger than he which is in the world: and ye know, "that all that is born of God overcometh the world, and this is our victory that overcometh the world, even our faith." Let the world fret, let it rage never so much, be it never so cruel and bloody; yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hands, for he is greater than all: "who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also? Who shall lay any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth: who shall then condemn? It is Christ that is dead, yea rather which is risen again, who is also at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecu-

Matt. xxiii.

Apoc. ix.

Apoc. vii.

1 John iv.

Rom. viii.

tion, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?"—The rest ye know, brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Which thing that it may come to pass, by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us all, as we for our parts will continually, God willing, pray for you; so, dear brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty request, we beseech you, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well, dear brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore, Amen.

Yours in the Lord,

Nicholas Ridley.

THE SAME IN LATIN.

(Coverdale.)

Ad fratres qui Christum cum cruce amplectuntur.

Gratia vobis et pax a Deo et Domino nostro Jesu Christo multiplicetur, Amen. Licet a vobis, fratres, nihil nuper accepimus, neque vobis aliquid novi nunc nuntiandum habemus, tamen ideo visum est nobis aliquid vobis scribere, ut intelligatis nos memoriam vestri bonam habere perpetuam, sicut vos de nobis habere minime dubitamus. Veniente nuper ad nos harum latore, et annuntiante nobis vestram omnium in Domino constantiam, fortitudinem et patientiam multam, repleti sumus consolatione et gaudio, gratias agentes Deo et Patri per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui ita illuminavit vultum suum super vos et lumine intelligentiæ spiritualis ita illustravit corda vestra, ut quod nuper (dum essetis in mundo liberi,) verbo et doctrina passim præstare sategistis, nunc propter Christum captivi, quantum licet, verbo, sed multo magis opere atque vestro exemplo, præstare non cessatis; hoc est, sermonem vitæ sustinentes, lucetis tanquam luminaria in mundo, in medio nationis pravæ et tortuosæ: idque tanto cum majore Domini nostri Jesu Christi gloria, fratrumque vestrorum emolumento et utilitate, quanto nunc Satan magis sævit, majoresque luci evangelicæ conatur inducere tenebras.

De tenebris autem, quas nunc ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Satan offundit, quis potest dubitare? Nuper Christus salvator, apostoli, prophetæ, et doctores ipsius, in templo loquebantur populo Anglicano Anglice, ita ut ab eis qui pii erant et rerum cœlestium studiosi, in iis quæ ad vitæ æternæ redemptionem de necessitate salutis pertinebant, clare et absque ænigmate facile intelligi poterant: nunc vero quæ ab illis olim in ædificationem ecclesiæ scripta sunt, leguntur in lingua peregrina, citra interpretationem, manifeste contra præceptum Pauli apostoli; ita ut a nemine prorsus, qui alienam et peregrinam illam linguam non didicerit, intelligi possint. Nuper sacrosancta illa mysteria cœlestia, quibus nos sibi Christus insevit et suo corpori complantavit, atque nos inter nos mutuo colligavit, quibus natos Dei aluit, auxit, atque corroboravit; denique quibus aut ordinem inter sanos docuit, aut ægrotis vel anima vel corpore veluti salubria pharmaca tradidit—omnia populo clare in sua lingua tradebantur, ita ut quisque, quanta et quæ immensa a Deo accepisset, quid cuique ex Dei præscripto deberet, quid in sua quisque vocatione professus esset et observare teneretur, unde languenti remedium esset petendum, facile is cui Deus mentem et animum hæc intelligendi avidum dedit, quam facillime intelligere poterat: nunc vero omnia hæc ita traduntur, ut eorum omnium populus Christi sanguine redemptus, et cui hæc maxime a Christo instituta sunt, ne tantillum quidem intelligere possit. Nuper (quum quid orare debemus ut oportet nescimus) Dominus noster Jesus Christus in sua, quam omnibus tradi voluit, oratione, atque etiam Spiritus sanctus in psalmis, hymnis, et cantionibus spiritualibus, quæ in sacris bibliis reperiuntur, universum populum Anglicanum Anglice docuit, ut et quæ petenda essent juxta voluntatem Patris peterent, et corda cum labiis in oratione conjungerent: nunc vero omnia sub involucro linguæ peregrinæ jubentur claudi, unde necessario sequi oportet, populum neque quid oret neque quid orare debeat posse intelligere: et quomodo potest cor voci conjungere, quum, quid vox valeat, magis quam brutum intelligere nequeat? Postremo, audio passim in pulpitis nunc damnari catechesim illam editam nuper in sermone vulgari. O malitiam dæmoniacam, et humani generis per Christum saluti partæ plane invidam! Omnino Satan tantam lucem

vulgari per orbem diu sustinere non potuit: nihil æque in suo regno subvertendo efficere posse intellexit, quam si a teneris annis sacris imbuti pueri Christum didicissent; unde non tantum pueros, sed et senes atque ætate provectiores, qui ab infantia Christum prius non didicissent, una cum pueris Christum discere necesse erat. Ergo nunc exclamat et vociferatur. Sed quid faciunt aliud, fratres, qui Satanæ in hac impietate operam impendunt atque ministrant, quam illi quibus Christus servator noster in evangelio dirum illud interminatur et intonat? dicens: "Væ vobis qui clauditis regnum ante homines, qui tulistis clavem scientiæ: ipsi non introiistis, et introire volentes prohibuistis." Et unde, fratres, dixerimus has tetras et exitiosas tenebras in mundum invectas exhalasse? Unde, quæso, quam ex fumo fornacis magni putei abyssi, ut jam obscuratus sit sol et aer ex fumo putei? Jam jam proculdubio, fratres, apud nos puteus apertus est, locustæ luxuriantur et Abaddon regnat. Ergo, fratres, qui estis Christi, qui signum Dei habetis in frontibus vestris, hoc est arra Spiritus obsignati estis in populum peculiarem Deo, viriliter agite et confortamini; major enim est qui est in nobis quam qui est in mundo. Scitis autem quod omne, quod natum est ex Deo, vincit mundum, et hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum, fides nostra. Fremat, frendat, et insæviat quantumlibet mundus; scitote quod nemo potest nos tollere de manu Patris, quia major est omnibus: qui proprio filio suo non pepercit, sed pro nobis omnibus tradidit illum; et proinde qui fieri potest ut non cum illo omnia nobis donet? Quis intentabit crimina adversus electos Dei? Deus est qui justificat: quis ille qui condemnet? Christus est qui mortuus, immo et qui suscitatus est, qui et intercedit pro nobis. Quis nos separabit a dilectione Dei? Num afflictio? Num angustia? Num persecutio? Num fames? Num nuditas? Num periculum? Num gladius?—Reliqua nostis, fratres. Speramus plane cum Paulo, per gratiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod nihil prorsus nos poterit separare a dilectione Dei, quæ est in Christo Jesu Domino nostro. Quod ut et vobis sit, et nobis omnibus contingat gratia et misericordia servatoris nostri Jesu Christi, et nos pro vobis (Deo volente) indesinenter orabimus, et vos pro nobis ne aliquando orare desinatis, etiam atque etiam in visceribus Jesu Christi, fratres in Do-

Matt. xxiii.

Apoc. ix.

Apoc. vii.

1 John iv.

Rom. viii.

mino charissimi, quantum possumus obnixe precamur. Bene valete, fratres charissimi. Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi sit semper cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

Vester in Domino, N. R.

LETTER IX. (Coverdale.)

To my most dear Brother, and reverend fellow Elder in Christ, John Hooper, *grace and peace.*

My dearly beloved brother and fellow elder, whom I reverence in the Lord, pardon me, I beseech you, that hitherto, since your captivity and mine, I have not saluted you by my letters: whereas, I do indeed confess, I have received from you (such was your gentleness,) two letters at sundry times, but yet at such times as I could not be suffered to write unto you again; or if I might have written, yet was I greatly in doubt, lest my letters should not safely come unto your hands. But now, my dear brother, forasmuch as I understand by your works, which I have yet but superficially seen, that we thoroughly agree and wholly consent together in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, against the which the world so furiously rageth in these our days, howsoever in time past in smaller matters and circumstances of religion, your wisdom and my simplicity (I confess) have in some points varied: now, I say, be you assured, that even with my whole heart, (God is my witness,) in the bowels of Christ, I love you, and in truth, for the truth's sake which abideth in us, and (as I am persuaded) shall by the grace of God abide with us for evermore. And because the world, as I perceive, brother, ceaseth not to play his pageant, and busily conspireth against Christ our Saviour, with all possible force and power, exalting high things against the knowledge of God, let us join hands together in Christ; and if we cannot overthrow, yet to our power, and as much as in us lieth, let us shake those high things, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons; and withal, brother, let us prepare ourselves to the day of our dissolution; whereby after the short

time of this bodily affliction, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, we shall triumph together with him in eternal glory.

I pray you, brother, salute in my name that reverend father, your fellow prisoner, Dr Crome; by whom, since the first day that I heard of his most godly and fatherly constancy in confessing the truth of the Gospel, I have conceived great consolation and joy in the Lord. For the integrity and uprightness, the gravity and innocency of that man all England, I think, hath known long ago. Blessed be God therefore, which in such abundance of iniquity and decay of all godliness hath given unto us, in this reverend old age, such a witness for the truth of his Gospel. Miserable and hard-hearted is he, whom the godliness and constant confession of so worthy, so grave, and innocent a man will not move to acknowledge and confess the truth of God. I do not now, brother, require you to write any thing to me again; for I stand much in fear lest your letters should be intercepted before they can come to my hands. Nevertheless know you, that it shall be to me great joy to hear of your constancy and fortitude in the Lord's quarrel. And albeit I have not hitherto written unto you, yet have I twice, as I could, sent unto you my mind touching the matter which in your letters you required to know, neither can I yet, brother, be otherwise persuaded. I see, methinks, so many perils whereby I am earnestly moved to counsel you not to hasten the publishing of your works, especially under the title of your own name. For I fear greatly, lest by this occasion, both your mouth should be stopped hereafter, and all things taken away from the rest of the prisoners; whereby otherwise, if it so please God, they may be able to do good to many. Farewell in the Lord, my most dear brother; and if there be any more in prison with you for Christ's cause, I beseech you, as you may, salute them in my name; to whose prayers I do most humbly and heartily commend myself and my fellow-prisoners, concaptives in the Lord: and yet once again and for ever in Christ, my most dear brother. farewell.

THE SAME IN LATIN.

(Coverdale.)

Charissimo fratri et venerabili in Christo compresbytero Ioanni Hopero gratiam et pacem.

Dilecte frater et venerabilis in Christo compresbyter, condonet mihi precor tua dilectio, quod hactenus a tua captivitate, tua simul et mea, tuam dilectionem meis literis non salutaverim, quando (ingenue fateor) mihi abs te (quæ tua erat humanitas) binæ literæ datæ fuerunt, diversis quidem temporibus, sed eis semper profecto in quibus aut mihi per iniquitatem temporis rescribere bene non licuit, aut, si rescripsissem, de literis ad te tuto perferendis multum dubitavi. Jam vero, charissime frater, quum ex illis tuis lucubrationibus, quas mihi non nisi obiter videre contigit, facile intelligo nos in iis quæ sunt nostræ religionis fundamenta et bases omnium (adversus quas mundus hodie tantopere insanit) probe convenire et in unum conspirare, utcumque in rebus minoribus et religionis appendicibus olim tua prudentia et mea simplicitas in aliquibus (fateor) uterque suum sensum habebat: jam, inquam, cognoscat tua dilectio, quod ex animo (Deus mihi testis est) in visceribus Christi te diligam, frater in veritate, propter veritatem quæ permanet in nobis, et, ut mihi persuasum habeo, per gratiam Dei permanebit nobiscum in æternum. Quoniam autem (uti video, frater) mundus causam suam agere non cessat, et contra Christum Servatorem quantum potest maximis munitionibus conspirat, et summas conatur erigere altitudines adversus cognitionem Dei, jungamus, frater, dextras in Christo, et pro nostro virili, quantumque in nobis situm erit, non armis carnalibus sed spiritualibus, si non possumus demoliri, saltem pulsemus illas altitudines: et simul nos jam, frater, præparemus ad diem dissolutionis nostræ, per quam cum Christo post momentaneam carnis istius nostræ afflictionem in æternum, gratia Domini Jesu Christi, simul cum illo triumphabimus in gloria sempiterna. 2 Cor. x.

Obsecro, frater, saluta meo nomine venerandum illum tuum concaptivum et mihi vere venerabilem patrem D. Cromerum; de quo (mihi crede) ex primo die quo de ejus sanctissima et gravissima constantia in confessione veritatis evangelicæ audivi, semper maximam consolationem maximumque gaudium

concepi in Domino: integritatem enim ejus viri, gravitatem. et innocentiam, jampridem universa pene (credo) novit Anglia. Benedictus igitur Deus, qui nobis in tanta abundantia iniquitatis, et in tanta ruina pietatis, talem nobis dedit in isthac veneranda canitie testem sui Evangelii veritati. Infelix quem tanti viri, tam gravis et innocentis, pietas et constans confessio nihil permovere possunt ad cognoscendam veritatem Dei. Non peto jam, frater, ut mihi quicquam rescribas, multum enim vereor ne literæ intercipiantur: quanquam scias mihi de tua constantia et fortitudine in Domini causa audire semper fore gratissimum. Et ut tuæ fraternitati hactenus non rescripserim, bis tamen (ut potui) tibi significandum curavi quod a me in tuis literis cognoscere voluisti. Nec adhuc profecto, frater, possum animum meum mutare: tot enim mihi videre videor pericula, quæ me impellunt ut consulam, ne tuarum lucubrationum editionem festinare velis, saltem sub titulo nominis tui. Multum enim vereor ne hac occasione et tibi os obstruatur in posterum, et aliis quoque captivis omnia auferantur, quibus alioqui multis, Deo ita volente, poterunt prodesse. Bene vale in Domino, charissime frater, et siqui alii in vestris ædibus sunt vobiscum in causa Christi concaptivi, precor illis meo nomine salutem, uti possis, velis impartiri; et omnium vestrum precibus apud Dominum me atque meos concaptivos in Domino etiam atque etiam humillime commendo; et rursus atque in æternum in Christo bene vale, frater charissime.

LETTER X. (Coverdale.)

To Master Bradford, *Prisoner in the King's Bench.*

Well beloved in Christ our Saviour, we all with one heart wish you, with all those that love God in deed and truth, grace and health; and specially to our dearly beloved companions, which are in Christ's cause, and the cause both of their brethren and their own salvation, ready and willing to put their neck under the yoke of Christ's cross. How joyful it was to us to hear the report of Doctor Taylor, and of his godly confession, &c., I ensure[a] you it is hard

[a] assure.

for me to express. Blessed be God which was, and is, the giver of that and all godly strength and stomach in the time of adversity. As for the rumours that have and do go abroad, either of our relenting or massing, we trust that they which know God and their duty towards their brethren in Christ, will not be too light of credit to believe them. It is not the slanderer's evil tongue, but a man's own evil deed, that can with God defile a man; and therefore, by God's grace, you shall never have cause to do otherwise than you say you do, that is, not to doubt but that we will continue, &c. Like rumour as you have heard of our coming to London, hath been here spread of the coming of certain learned men prisoners hither from London; but as yet we know no certainty whether of these rumours is or shall be more true. Know you, that we have you in our daily remembrance, and wish you and all the rest of our aforesaid companions well in Christ. It should do us much comfort, if we might have knowledge of the state of the rest of our most dearly beloved, which in this troublesome time do stand in Christ's cause, and in the defence of the truth thereof. We are in good health, thanks be to God, and yet the manner of our treatment doth change as sour ale doth in summer. It is reported to us of our keepers, that the University beareth us heavily [b]. A coal chanced to fall in the night out of the chimney, and burnt a hole in the floor, and no more harm was done, the bailiffs' servants sitting by the fire. Another night there chanced a drunken fellow to multiply words, and for the same he was set in Bocardo. Upon these things, as is reported, there is risen a rumour in the town and country about, that we would have broken the prison with such violence as, if the bailiffs had not played the pretty men, we should have made an escape. We had out of our prison a wall that we might have walked upon, and our servants had liberty to go abroad in the town or fields; but now both they and we are restrained of both. The Bishop of Worcester passed by us through Oxford, but he did not visit us. The same day began our restraint to be more, and the Book of the Communion was taken from us by the bailiffs at the mayor's commandment. No man is licensed to come unto us. Afore they might, that would, see us upon the wall; but that is so

[b] hath ill will to us.

Bocardo is a stinking and filthy prison for drunkards, whores, and harlots, and the vilest sort of people. M. C.

grudged at, and so evil reported, that we are now restrained, &c. Sir, blessed be God, with all our evil reports, grudgings, and restraints, we are merry in God; and all our care is, and shall be by God's grace, to please and serve him, of whom we look and hope, after this temporal and momentary miseries, to have eternal joy and perpetual felicity with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Peter, and Paul, and all the blessed company of the angels in heaven, through Jesus Christ our Lord. As yet there was never learned man, or any scholar or other, that visited us since we came into Bocardo, which now in Oxford may be called a college of quondams; for as you know, we be no fewer here than three, and I dare say, every one well contented with his portion, which I do reckon to be our heavenly Father's gracious and fatherly good gift. Thus fare you well. We shall, with God's grace, one day meet together and be merry: the day assuredly approacheth apace. The Lord grant that it may shortly come; for before the day come, I fear the world will wax worse and worse. But then all our enemies shall be overthrown and trodden under foot, righteousness and truth then shall have the victory, and bear the bell away; whereof the Lord grant us to be partners, and all that sincerely love the truth. We all pray you, as you can, to cause all our commendations to be made to all such, as you know did visit us and you when we were in the Tower with their friendly remembrances and benefits. Mistress Wilkinson and Mistress Warcup have not forgotten us; but even since we came into Bocardo, with their charitable and friendly benevolence have comforted us: not that else we lack, (for God be blessed, which ever hitherto hath provided sufficiently for us,) but it is a great comfort and an occasion for us to bless God, when we see that he maketh them so friendly to tender us, whom some of us were never familiarly acquainted withal.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XI. (COVERDALE.)

To ARCHBISHOP CRANMER *and* BISHOP LATIMER, *being separated from him, and prisoners in several*[a] *places.*

[a] separate.

THE cause of my brother's imprisonment is this, so far as I can perceive. There is a young man called Mr Grimbold, which was my chaplain, a preacher, and a man of much eloquence both in the English and also in the Latin. To this man, being desirous of all things which I had written and done since the beginning of mine imprisonment, my brother (as is said) hath sent copies, no more but[b] of all things that I have done. First, a little treatise which Mr Latimer and I wrote in the Tower; where there is before my sayings, N. R. and before Mr Latimer, H. L.[1] Also another draught, which I drew out of the Evangelists and of St Paul, that the words of the Lord's Supper are figuratively to be understood; alleging out of the doctors only six, three of the Greek church, which are Origen, Chrysost. ad Cesa. monachum, and Theodoret; and three of the Latin church, Tertullian, Augustine, and Gelasius. He had of my brother also a copy of my Three Positions to the Three Questions here propounded to us at Oxford. Then also a copy of my disputation in the Schools, as I wrote it myself after the disputation. Item the letter, *Ad fratres in diversis carceribus.* All these things they have gotten of Grimbold, as my brother doth suppose; not that Grimbold hath betrayed him, but (as is supposed) one which my brother trusted to carry his letters unto Grimbold: for it will not sink into my head to think that Grimbold would ever play me such a Judas's part. Although these things are chanced far otherwise than I had thought they should, (for my mind was that they should not have come abroad until my body had been laid to rest in peace,) yet truly I suppose this is not thus chanced without God's gracious providence, which he hath over all his, and I trust that God of his goodness shall turn it to his own glory. For it shall evidently appear to the reader of these things which they have, that the cause why I do dissent from the Romish religion is not any study

[b] than.

[1] "The conferences with Hugh Latimer." ED.]

of vain glory or of singularity, but of conscience, of my bound duty towards God and towards Christ's church, and the salvation of mine own soul; for the which, by God's grace, I will willingly jeopard here to lose life, land, and goods, name and fame, and what else is or can be unto me pleasant in this world. My brother as yet, because they neither shewed any commission or authority whereby they did examine him, nor also anything of his letters (although they said they had them), as yet I say my brother hath confessed nothing. But I look for none other but he shall be forced to tell where he had the copies, and where they be, and I will be content that he shall say the truth, that he had them all of me; let them come and take them, and cast them into the fire, if God know they will promote his glory; they can do no more than he will suffer them. Because in the book of N. R. and H. L. it is said in the end, that H. L. hath caused his servant to write it; I would Austin[1] should have word, if any further search be, to keep him[c] out of the way. God shall reward you both for my brother; you, my lord of Canterbury, for your meat and daily comfort, and you, father L. for your money and comfortable messages. I trust in God my brother, though he be young, yet will study to learn to bear Christ's cross patiently, as a young scholar in Christ's school. God increase his grace in us all. Amen.

[c] himself.

LETTER XII. (Coverdale.)

Letter from Doctor Ridley *to the* Archbishop of Canterbury (*Cranmer*).

I wish ye might have seen these mine answers before I had delivered them, that ye might have corrected them. But I trust, in the substance of the matter we do agree fully, both led by one Spirit of truth, and both walking after one rule of God's word. It is said, that Sergeant Morgan[2],

[1] Augustine Berneher. Ed.]

[2] Sergeant Morgan, after the trial of Lady Jane Grey, is said to have had her figure continually before his eyes, and to have cried out incessantly, "Take away the Lady Jane." Ed.]

the chief justice of the Common Pleas, is gone mad. It is said also, that Justice Hales hath recanted, perverted by Doctor Moreman. Item, that Master Rogers, Doctor Crome, and Master Bradford, shall be had to Cambridge, and there be disputed with as we were here; and that the doctors of Oxford shall go likewise thither, as Cambridge men came hither. When you have read mine answers, send them again to Austin, except ye will put any thing to them. I trust, the day of our delivery out of all miseries, and of our entrance into perpetual rest, and unto perpetual joy and felicity, draweth nigh. The Lord strengthen us with his mighty Spirit of grace!

This justice Morgan gave sentence against Lady Jane. M. C.

Disputations in Cambridge intended. M. C.

If you have not what to write with, you must make your man your friend. And this bearer deserveth to be rewarded, so he may and will do you pleasure. My man is trusty; but it grieveth both him and me, that when I send him with any thing to you, your man will not let him come up to see you, as he may to Master Latimer, and yours to me. I have a promise to see how my answers were written in the schools, but as yet I cannot come by it. Pray for me, I beseech you, and so shall I for you. The Lord have mercy of his church, and lighten the eyes of the magistrates, that God's extreme plagues light not on this realm of England!

TURN OR BURN.

LETTER XIII. (COVERDALE.)

To MASTER BRADFORD.

DEARLY beloved, I wish you grace, mercy, and peace. According to your mind I have run over all your papers[3], and what I have done, (which is but small,) therein may appear. Sir, what shall best be done with these things, now you must consider: for if they come in sight at this time, undoubtedly they must to the fire with their father; and as for any safeguard that your custody can be unto them, I am sure you look not for it: for as you have been partner of the works,

This was a treatise of the communion, with other things, which Mr Bradford sent to him to peruse and to give his judgement thereof. M. C.

[3] The treatise in question was first printed in 1574, and afterwards with a preface by Thos. Sampson, A. D. 1581. ED.]

so, I am sure, you look for none other but to have and receive like wages, and to drink of the same cup. Blessed be God, that hath given you liberty in the mean season, that you may use your pen to his glory, and to the comfort (as I hear say) of many. I bless God daily in you and all your whole company, to whom I beseech you to commend me heartily. Now I love my countryman in deed and in truth, I mean Doctor Taylor, not now for my earthly country's sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, whom (I heard say) he did so stoutly in time of peril confess; and yet also now for our country's sake, and for all our mother's sake, but I mean of the kingdom of heaven and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit which bringeth in him, in you, and in your company, such blessed fruits of holiness in the Lord's cause, of patience, and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed until his own day come. Amen.

As yet, I perceive you have not been baited[1]; and the cause thereof God knoweth; which will let them do no more to his, than is his *pleased*[a] will and good pleasure to suffer them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father which doth guide them that be Christ's to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Father's hands. Except, I say, it please our Father, it please our Master Christ to suffer them, they shall not be able to stir one hair of your heads. My brother P.[2], the bearer hereof, would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind[b]: that is, not for to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent judges. We are (as ye know) separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much strait watching of the bailiffs is about us, that there be no privy conference amongst us. And yet (as we hear) the scholars bear us more heavily[c] than the townsmen. A wonderful thing! among so many, never yet

[a] blessed.

[b] purpose.

[c] have more ill will.

[1] It was intended, though the design was never carried into execution, to carry Bradford, Hooper, Farrar, Taylor, and others, to Cambridge, to hold a public disputation there, as had been done with Ridley, Cranmer and Latimer at Oxford. See the preceding letter. Ed.]

[2] Probably William Punt. Ed.]

scholar offered to any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christ's cause. Now, as concerning your demand of our counsel; for my part, I do not mislike that which I perceive ye are minded to do: for I look for none other but, if ye answer before the same commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further, I think that occasion afterwards may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may, perchance, move you to do otherwise. Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able: but I trust He, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This letter must be common to you and Mr Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow, good father Crome, I bless God even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Master Christ true, acceptable and honourable service, and profitable to his flock, the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy and all manner of true godliness. But what shall I need to say to you, Let this be common among your brethren? among whom, I dare say, it is with you, as it is with us, to whom all things here are common: meat, money, and whatsoever one of us hath, that can or may do another good. Although I said the bailiffs and our hosts straitly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of anything abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us in the stead of our servants faithful fellows which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is God's work surely, blessed be God for his unspeakable goodness. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen, Amen. As far as London is from Oxford, yet thence we have received of late both meat, money, and shirts; not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some whom this bearer can tell, with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it: to him, therefore, be all honour, glory, and due thanks. And yet, I pray you do so much as to shew them that we

have received their benevolence, and (God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do, for I know they be of Mr Hooper's and your familiar acquaintance. Mr Latimer was crazed[d], but I hear now, thanks be to God, that he amendeth again.

[d] shaken in health, ill.

Yours in Christ,
N. R.

LETTER XIV. (Coverdale.)

To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you and your company in Christ, yea, and all the holy brotherhood, that now with you in divers prisons suffereth and beareth patiently Christ's cross for the maintenance of his gospel, grace, mercy, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. Sir, considering the state of this chivalry and warfare, wherein I doubt not but we be set to fight under Christ's banner and his cross against our ghostly enemy the devil, and the old serpent Satan, methink I perceive two things to be his most perilous and most dangerous engines which he hath to impugn Christ's verity, his Gospel, his faith: and the same two also to be the most massy posts and most mighty pillars, whereby he maintaineth and upholdeth his Satanical synagogue. These two, sir, are they in my judgment: the one his false doctrine and idolatrical use of the Lord's supper; and the other, the wicked and abominable usurpation of the primacy of the see of Rome. By these two Satan seemeth to me principally to maintain and uphold his kingdom: by these two, he driveth down nightily (alas! I fear me), the third part of the stars in heaven. These two poisonful rotten posts he hath so painted over with such a pretence and colour of religion, of unity in Christ's church, of the catholic faith, and such like, that the wily serpent is able to deceive, if it were possible, even the elect of God. Wherefore John said not without great cause, "If any know not Satan's subtilities and the dungeons thereof, I will wish him no other burden to be laden withal." Sir, because these be his principal and main posts whereupon standeth all his falsehood, craft, and

Apoc. viii.

Apoc. ii.

treachery; therefore, according to the poor power that God hath given me, I have bended mine artillery to shoot at the same. I know it to be little (God knoweth) that I can do; and of my shot I know they pass[a] not. Yet will I not (God willing) cease to do the best that I can, to shake those cankered and rotten posts. The Lord grant me good success, to the glory of his name, and the furtherance of Christ's Gospel. I have now already (I thank God) for this present time spent a good part of my powder in these scribblings, whereof this bearer shall give you knowledge. Good brother Bradford, let the wicked surmise and say what they list; know you for a certainty by God's grace, without all doubt, that in Christ's Gospel's cause, against and upon the foresaid God's enemies, I am fully determined to live and die. Farewell, dear brother; and I beseech you and all the rest of our brethren, to have good remembrance of the condemned heretics (as they call them) of Oxford in your prayers. The bearer shall certify you of our state. Farewell in the Lord.

[a] regard.

From Bocardo. Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XV. (Coverdale.)

To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved brother, blessed be God our heavenly Father for his manifold and innumerable mercies towards us; and blessed might he be that hath spared us long together, that each one of us may bless his mercy and clemency in other, unto this day, above the expectation and hope of any worldly appearance.

Whereas you write of the outrageous rule that Satan, our ghostly enemy, beareth abroad in the world, whereby he stirreth and raiseth so pestilent and heinous heresies, as some to deny the blessed Trinity, some the divinity of our Saviour Christ, some the divinity of the Holy Ghost, some the baptism of infants, some original sin, and to be infected with the errors of the Pelagians, and to re-baptize those that have been baptized with Christ's baptism already; alas, Sir, this doth declare this time and these days to be wicked indeed! But

what can we look for else of Satan here, and of his ministers, but to do the worst that they can, so far forth as God shall or will suffer them? And now, methink, he is less to be marvelled at at this time, if he bestir him by all manner of means, that the truth indeed do take no place. For he seeth now, blessed be God! that some go about in deed and in truth, not trifling, but with the loss of all that they are able to lose in this world, goods, lands, name, fame, and life also, to set forth God's word and his truth; and by God's grace shall do, and abide in the same unto the end: now therefore it is time to bestir him, I trow. And as for the diversity of errors, what careth he though one be never so contrary to another? He reckoneth all (and so he may) to be his, whosoever prevail, so that truth prevail not. Nevertheless, good brother, I suppose that the universal plague is most dangerous, which at this day is (alas!) fostered and masterfully holden up by wit, worldly policy, multitude of people, power, and all worldly means. As for other the devil's galtropes[a] that he casteth in our ways by some of his busy-headed younkers, I trust they shall never be able to do the multitude so great harm. For, blessed be God! these heresies before time, when Satan by his servants hath been about to broach them, have by God's servants already been so sharply and truly confounded, that the multitude was never infected with them, or else, where they have been infected, they are healed again, that now the peril is not so great. And where you say, that if your request had been heard, things (you think) had been in better case than they be: know you that concerning the matter you mean, I have in Latin drawn out the places of the Scriptures, and upon the same have noted what I can for the time. Sir, in those matters I am so fearful, that I dare not speak farther, yea, almost none otherwise, than the very text doth as it were lead me by the hand. And where you exhort us to help, &c.; O Lord, what is else in this world that we now should list to do? I bless my Lord God, I never (as methinketh), had more nor better leisure to be occupied with my pen in such things as I can do, to set forth (when they may come to light) God's glory. And I bless my Lord God through Jesus Christ, my heart and my work are therein occupied, not so fully and perfectly as

[a] a military engine for maiming cavalry. M. C.

He meaneth here the matter of God's election, whereof he afterward wrote a godly and comfortable treatise, remaining yet in the hands of some, and hereafter shall come to light, if God so will. M. C.

I would, but yet so as I bless God for the same. Farewell, dear brother; the messenger tarrieth, and I may not now be longer with you. The Lord, I trust verily, shall bring us thither, where we shall each one with other in Christ our Saviour rejoice and be merry everlastingly.

Your brother in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XVI. (Coverdale.)

To Master Bradford.

Dearly beloved brother Bradford, I had thought of late that I had written unto you your last farewell, (until we should have met in the kingdom of heaven,) by our dear brother Austin: and I sent it to meet you in Lancashire; whither, it was said here, you were appointed to be sent to suffer. But now, since they have changed their purpose, and prolonged[a] your death, I understand it is no other thing than that once happened to Peter and Paul. The which, although they were of the first which were cast in prison, and as little shunned peril as any other did, yet God would not have them put to death with the first, because he had more service to be done by their ministry, which his gracious pleasure was they should do. So without doubt, dear brother, I am persuaded that the same is the cause of the delay of your martyrdom. Blessed be the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for your threefold confession. I have read all three with great comfort and joy, and thanksgiving unto God for his manifold gifts of grace, wherewith it is manifest to the godly reader that GOD did assist you mightily. And blessed be God again and again, which gave you so good a mind and remembrance of your oath once made against the bishop of Rome, lest you should be partaker of the common perjury which all men almost are now fallen into, in bringing in again that wicked usurped power of his. Which oath was made according to the prophet, "in judgment, in righteousness, and in truth;" and therefore cannot without perjury be revoked, let Satan roar and rage, and practise all the

[a] deferred.

Jer. iv.

cruelty he can. Oh, good Lord, that they are so busy with you about the church! It is no new thing, brother, that is happened unto you; for that was always the clamour of the wicked bishops and priests against God's true prophets:

Ezek. vii. "The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord:" and they said, "The law shall not depart from the priest, nor wisdom from the elder:" and yet

[b] singularly. in them whom they only[b] esteemed for their priests and sages, there was neither God's law nor godly wisdom. It is a marvellous thing to hear what vain communication is spread abroad of you. It is said here, that you be pardoned your life; and when you were appointed to be banished and to go, (I cannot tell whither) you should say that you had rather here suffer, than go where you could not live after your conscience; and that this pardon should be begged for you by Bourne, the bishop of Bath, for that you saved his life[1]. Again, some say, and among other mine host reported, that you are highly promoted, and are a great man with my lord chancellor. This I could not believe, but did deny it as a false lie: so surely was I always persuaded of your constancy. What God will do with us, he knoweth. In the mean time, wonderful it is to behold how the wisdom of GOD hath infatuated the policy of the world, and scattered the crafty devices of the worldly wise. For when the state of religion

[c] furious. was once altered, and persecution began to wax whole[c], no man doubted but Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, should have been the first to have been called to the stake. But the subtle policy of the world, setting us apart, first assaulted them by whose infirmity they thought to have more advantage; but God disappointed their subtle purpose. For whom the world esteemed weakest (praised be God), they have found most strong, sound and valiant, in Christ's cause, unto the death; to give such an onset as, I dare say, all the angels in heaven do no less rejoice to behold in them, than they did in the victorious constancy of Peter, Paul,

[1 Immediately after the accession of Queen Mary, bishop Bourne was appointed to preach at Paul's Cross. In his sermon he spoke so much against the late King Edward VI. and the reformation, that a tumult was excited, and he would probably have suffered injury, had not Bradford stood forward and protected him. Ed.]

Esay, Elias, or Jeremy. "For greater love no man hath, than to bestow his life," &c. Good brother, have me and us all continually in your remembrance to God in your prayers, as, God willing, we shall not be in our prayers forgetful of you. John xv.

Your own in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XVII. (Coverdale.)

To Master Bradford.

Brother Bradford, I wish you in Christ our Saviour grace, mercy and peace, and to all them which are with you or any where else captives in Christ; and to hear that ye be all in good health, and stand constantly in the confession of Christ's gospel, it doth heartily rejoice us. Know you likewise that we all here be (thanks be to God!) in good health and comfort, watching with our lamps alight (I trust in God), when it shall please our master, the bridegroom, to call us to wait upon him unto the marriage. Now, we suppose, the day doth approach apace, for we hear that the parliament is dissolved. The burgesses of Oxford are come home, and other news we hear not, but that the king is made protector to the prince to be born, and that the bishops have full authority, *ex officio*, to inquire of heresies. Before the parliament began, it was a rumour here, that certain from the convocation house was appointed, yea, ready to have come to Oxford, and then there was spied out one thing to lack, for want of a law to perform their intent. Now, seeing they can want no law, we cannot but look for them shortly: I trust to God's glory, let them come when they will; &c. Matt. xxv.

Brother Bradford, I marvel greatly of good Austin, where he is, for that I heard say he promised his master to have been here before this time; and he had from me that I would be loth to lose, yea, to want, when time shall be that it might do (nay, help me to do) my lord and my master Christ service: I mean my scribblings [2]*de abominationibus*

[2] Concerning the abominations of the Roman see and of the Roman pontiffs. Ed.]

sedis Romanæ et pontificum Romanorum. I have no copy of the same, and I look daily to be called *in* [1]*certamen cum antiquo serpente;* and so I told him and, I ween, you also, by whose means I was more moved to let him have them. I doubt not of his fidelity. I pray God he be in health and at liberty; for I have been and am careful[a] for him. I have heard that Master Grimbold[2] hath gotten his liberty; if without any blemish of Christ's glory, I am right glad thereof. My brother-in-law is where he was, that is in Bocardo, the common gaol of the town. I have written here a letter to Master Hooper; I pray you cause it to be written to him again. Commend me to all your prison fellows and our brethren in Christ. If Austin were here, I would have had more to say. The Lord grant that all be with him well; who ever preserve you, and all that love our Saviour Christ in sincerity and truth. Amen.

[a] anxious.

Yours, by God's grace, in our master Christ's cause, unto the stake; and thenceforth without all danger and peril for ever and ever. I am sure you have heard of our new apparel, and I doubt not but London will have their talk of it. Sir, know you that although this seemeth to us in our case much thanks-worthy, yet have we not that apparel that we look for: for this in time will wear; and that which we look for, rightly done on, will endure, and is called *stola immortalitatis*[3].

N. R.

LETTER XVIII. (Coverdale.)

To Augustine Bernher, *then servant to* Master Latimer, *and now a faithful minister in Christ's church; to whom, because he might not come to the prison to speak with him, he wrote as followeth.*

Brother Austin, you are heartily welcome to Oxford again; you have made good speed indeed; and blessed be

[1] Into conflict with the old serpent. Ed.]

[2] "Master Grimbold." This man had been one of Ridley's chaplains, but turned to popery, and for some time acted as a spy among those who were in prison for religion. Ed.]

[3] The robe of immortality. Ed.]

God for his gracious goodness, that all is well with you. That our dearly beloved brethren in Christ are all in good comfort, hearty in Christ's cause, and stand stedfast in the confession of his true doctrine; it rejoiceth (I ensure[a] you) my heart in God to hear of it. This day was Doctor Croke, [the Grecian[4],] with me [at dinner[5],] and both he and Mistress Irish, mine hostess, told me that Master Hooper is hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason; but I did not believe them, for it is not the first tale that mine hostess hath told me of M. Hooper. And I trust the tidings that were here spread abroad since your departure, that Master Grimbold also should have been arraigned and condemned for treason to be hanged and quartered, was not true: let me hear if there be any such thing. Not three days ago there was a privy warning given me from a man of God, one Lifley, a glover, that we prisoners here all three should be shortly and suddenly conveyed into three several colleges; for what purpose, and how to be ordered, God knoweth. At the which time, and at the earnest request of that forenamed man of God, I did deliver unto him some of the things I had in hand, to write out: what they be, you shall know of him. Beside the things which he hath, I have some things else, which (if it please God) I would wish might come to light, if perchance any thereby might receive the light to love the truth the better, and to abhor the falsehood of antichrist. I have written annotations [6]*in priorem librum Tonstalli plenius, in secundum vero parcius: optarem ut transcriberentur, ne fortassis una mecum fiant subito Vulcani cibus.* I have also many things, but as yet confusedly set together, of the abominable usurpation, pride, arrogancy, and wickedness of the see and bishop of Rome; and altogether in Latin[7]. If those things were written out, I would wish that Master Bradford would take them, and translate and

[a] assure.

[4 5] MSS. Emm. Coll. Lib. Ed.]

[6] More fully on the first book of Tonstall, but more sparingly on the second. I should wish them to be transcribed, lest by chance together with myself they should suddenly become a prey to the flames. Ed.]

[7] This collection of Ridley's probably fell into the possession of Fox or Grindall, and furnished some of the materials for the earlier part of the Acts and Monuments. Ed.]

order them as he should think might best help to open the eyes of the simple, for to see the wickedness of the synagogue of Satan. But that at your last being here you cast cold water upon mine affection towards Grimbold, else methink I could appoint where he might occupy himself to his own profit in learning which he liketh, and to no small profit which might ensue to the church of Christ in England: as, if he would take in hand to interpret Laurentius Valla, which (as he knoweth) is a man of singular eloquence; his book I mean, which he made and wrote against that false feigned fable, forged of[b] Constantinus Magnus, and his dotation and glorious exaltation of the see of Rome: and when he hath done that, let him translate a work of Æneas Silvius *de gestis Basiliensis Concilii*[1]. In the which although there be many things that savoureth of the pan, and also he himself was afterward a bishop of Rome, yet, I dare say, the papists would glory but a little to see such books go forth in English. If you will know where to have these books or treatises, you may have them both together, and many like treatises, which painteth out the wickedness of the see of Rome, in a book set forth by a papist called Ortwinus Gratius, entitled *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*[2]. In that book you shall have *confessionem fratrum Waldensium*, men of much more learning, godliness, soberness, and understanding in God's word, than I would have thought them to have been in that time, before I did read their works. If such things had been set forth in our English tongue heretofore, I suppose surely great good might have come to Christ's church thereby. To my good lady's grace, and to my lady Vane, what thanks can I give, but desire Almighty God to lighten, comfort, and strengthen them evermore in his ways? The other two whom you mention I know not: but the Lord knoweth them; to whom in them all and for all their kindness I give most hearty

[b] concerning.

[1] Concerning the Acts of the Council of Basil. A translation of these Acts is given by Fox in his "Acts and Monuments." Ed.]

[2] A bundle of such things as are to be sought after, and such things as are to be avoided. A well-known and valuable work published at Cologne, A.D. 1535, and to which was added an appendix published in London, A.D. 1690, by the Rev. — Browne. Ed.]

thanks. Master Bradford desireth that thanks should be rendered unto you for your comfortable aid wherewith you comfort him: but you must tell him that he must bid you thank them for him, which are not bound to thank you for themselves; and if he do so, then, I ween, all we prisoners of Oxford shall so stop his mouth.

Brother Austin, you for our comfort do run up and down, and who beareth your charges God knoweth. I know you must needs in so doing take much pains. I pray you take this poor token[3] of my good will towards your charges.

LETTER XIX. (Coverdale.)

To Doctor Weston; *requiring performance of certain promises made unto him, but never fulfilled, according to the accustomed wily and unfaithful dealings of the papists.*

Master Prolocutor, ye remember, I am sure, how you promised me openly in the schools, after my protestation, that I should see how my answers were there taken and written of the notaries, whom you appointed, (*me fateor neminem recusante*[4],) to write what should be said; and to have had licence for us to have added unto them, or for to have altered them, as upon more deliberation should have seemed me best. Ye granted[a] me also, at the delivery of mine answer unto your first proposition, a copy of the same. These promises be not performed. If your sudden departure be any part of the cause thereof, yet I pray you remember that they may be performed; for performance of promises is to be looked for at a righteous judge's hands.

[a] promised.

What promises he made openly in the schools that were never performed, read before. M.C.

Now I send you here mine answers in writing to your second and third propositions, and do desire and require earnestly a copy of the same: and I shall, by God's grace, procure the pains of the writer to be paid for and satisfied accordingly. When I would have confirmed my sayings with authorities or reasons, you said there openly, that I should

[3] The MS. in the Library of Emm. Coll. Cambridge adds here, *3s. 4d.* Ed.]

[4] I confess, without objection to any one of them on my part. Ed.]

have had time and place to say and bring whatsoever I could another time. And the same your saying was then there confirmed of other of the commissioners. Yea, and I dare say the audience also thought then that I should have had another day to have brought and said what I could say, for the declaration and confirmation of mine assertions. Now that this was not done, but so suddenly sentence given before the cause was perfectly heard, I cannot but marvel at all; and the due reformation of all things which are amiss I commit unto Almighty God, my heavenly Father, which by his dear Son our Saviour Christ, (whom he hath made the universal judge of all flesh,) shall truly and righteously judge both you and me.

Master Prolocutor, I desire you, and in God's name require you, that you truly bring forth and shew all my three answers, written and subscribed with mine own hand, unto the higher house of the convocation, and specially unto my Lord Chancellor, my Lords of Durham, Ely, Norwich, Worcester, and Chichester, and also to shew and exhibit this my writing unto them, which in these few lines I write here unto you. And that I do make this request unto you by this my writing, know you that I did take witness of them by whom I did send you this writing, and of those which were then with them present, that is, of the bailiffs of Oxford, and of Master Irish, Alderman, then there called to be a witness.

By me, N. Ridley, April 23, 1554.

LETTER XX.

A Letter sent from Dr Ridley, *late Bishop of London (when lying in the Mayor's house of Oxford, called* Mr Irish), *unto one* William Punt, *who brought at that time writings from* Mr Hooper *and* Mr Bradford *to* Dr Ridley, Mr Cranmer, *and* Mr Latimer, *to peruse, and for that he could not come to him, this letter was sent unto the said* William *into the town. Anno* 1554.

MSS. Bibl. Emm. Coll. apud Cantab.

Brother Punt, ye do know what hath bechanced unto my brother of late; and the truth is also, that this three or

four days I have been somewhat in a fervent heat, and felt in my body a disposition to an ague; but, thanked be God, it assuageth. I have looked for none other, nor yet do, but every hour for some to come to make a search. I have in haste read over the book, the three chapters. But mine advice is that they be not now published, lest they should be lost and no profit so might come by them; for I know no state of men, neither of high degree or low, lord, lawyer, priest, or layman (as the world is set now), whom I think would gladly receive them, specially of those that are learned in the Latin tongue; yea, and I fear that the setting (them) forth might be occasion to have the author of them more hardly to be handled, and so peradventure as he should be least able to do hereafter any more good either with his tongue or with his pen, which were a great pity. What this will come unto that they have gotten out by my brother-in-law's behaviour, I cannot tell; but it was not in my mind that any thing should have come abroad in my name, until our bodies had been laid at rest. Commend me to all the holy prisoners in Christ, and desire them to pray for me unto our gracious Father, that as by my brother's trouble he hath somewhat increased my cross, so he will of his gracious goodness increase his gifts of grace to his glory and the furtherance of his truth. Amen.

Yours,

NICHOLAS RIDLEY.

LETTER XXI. (COVERDALE.)

To MASTER BRADFORD.

On, dear brother, seeing the time is now come when it pleaseth the heavenly Father, for Christ our Saviour his sake, to call upon you, and to bid you to come, happy are you that ever you were born, thus to be awake at the Lord's calling. *Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia super pauca fuisti fidelis, super multa te constituet, et intrabis in gaudium Domini*[1]. O dear brother, what meaneth this, that you are Matt. xxv. 21.

[1 Well done, good and faithful servant: because thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord. ED.]

sent into your own native country? The wisdom and policy of the world may mean what they will; but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of God's gracious goodness shall be plenteously poured abroad amongst his, our dear brethren in that country, by this your martyrdom. Where the martyrs for Christ's sake shed their blood and lost their lives, oh what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory and confirmation of their doctrine! If it be not the place that sanctifieth the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place, brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place wherein thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes in Christ's cause sprinkled over withal. All thy country may rejoice of thee, that ever it brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in His cause of whom he had received it.

Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand that thou art in thy journey, by God's grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father, for Christ's sake, to set thee safely home: and then, good brother, speak you and pray for the remnant that are for to suffer for Christ's sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God! I ween, I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear brother Rogers' departing and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God!) so rejoiced of it, that since that time, I say, I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before. O good brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your brother in Christ, N. R.

Brother, farewell.

LETTER XXII. (Coverdale.)

To Master Bradford.

Gratiam et pacem, &c. Although I ween it is not yet three days ago since you heard from me, yet having such a messenger and so diversely enforced, I cannot but say something to you. What shall I thank you for your golden token? What mean you, man? Do you not know that we have *victum et amictum e penario regio*[1]? I was so moved with your token, that I commanded it straightway to be had to Bocardo, which is our common gaol. I am right glad of Austin's return, for I was (as I told you) careful[a] for him. Blessed be God that all is well! I have seen what he brought from you, and shortly surveyed the whole, but in such celerity, that others also might see the same before Austin's return: so that I noted nothing but a confused sum of the matter, and as yet what the rest have done, I can tell nothing at all, and it was at the writing hereof in their hands. To your request and Austin's earnest demand of the same, I have answered him in a brief letter, and yet he hath replied again: but he must go without any further answer of me for this time. I have told Austin that I, for my part, as I can and may for my tardity and dulness, will think of the matter. We are so now ordered and straitly watched, that scantly our servants dare do anything for us: so much talk and so many tales (as is said) are told of us abroad. One of us cannot easily nor shortly *be of*[2] the knowledge of another's mind, and you know I am youngest many ways. Austin's persuasions may do more with me (in that I may do conveniently in this matter,) armed with your earnest and zealous letters, than any rhetoric either of Tully or Demosthenes, I ensure you thereof. With us it is said that Master Grimbold was adjudged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; of whom we hear now, that he is at liberty. So we heard of late, that Master Hooper was hanged, drawn, and quartered, indeed, not for heresy but for treason; but blessed be God, we

This token was a piece of gold, which he sent to relieve his brother Shipside, prisoner in Bocardo. M. C.

[a] anxious.

He meaneth here Harry Hart, a froward free will man, who had written a treatise against God's free election, which Bradford sent to M. Ridley, Cranmer, and Latimer to peruse, desiring M. Ridley to answer the same. M. C.

[1] Food and clothing at the royal charge. Ed.]

[2] Attain to. Ed.]

Note the lying spirit of the papists, whereby you may see whose children they are. M. C.

hear now that all is true in like. False tongues will not cease to lie, and mischievous hearts to imagine the worst. Farewell in Christ: and token for token now I send you not; but know this, that (as it is told me) I have two scarlet gowns that escaped, I cannot tell how, in the spoil, whereof you shall have your part. Commend me to all our brethren, and your fellow-prisoners in the Lord.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XXIII. (Coverdale.)

To Augustine Bernher.

Brother Augustine, I bless God with all my heart in his manifold merciful gifts given unto our dear brethren in Christ; especially to our brother Rogers, whom it pleased him to set forth first, no doubt but of his gracious goodness and fatherly favour towards him. And likewise, blessed be God in the rest—as Hooper, Saunders, and Taylor, whom it hath pleased the Lord likewise to set in the fore-front of the battle against his adversaries, and hath endued them all, so far as I can hear, to stand in the confession of his truth, and to be content in his cause, and for his gospel's sake, to lose their life. And evermore, and without end, blessed be even the same our heavenly Father for our dear and entirely beloved brother, Bradford, whom now the Lord, I perceive, calleth for: for I ween he will no longer vouchsafe him to abide among the adulterous and wicked generation of this world. I do not doubt but that he, for those gifts of grace which the Lord hath bestowed on him plenteously, hath holpen those who are gone before in their journey, that is, hath animated and encouraged them to keep the high way, [1]*et sic currere uti tandem acciperent premium.* The Lord be his comfort, whereof I do not doubt, and thank God heartily that ever I was acquainted with him, and that ever I had such a one in my house. And yet again I bless God in our dear brother, and of this time protomartyr, Rogers, that he was also one of my calling to be a prebendary preacher

Protomartyr is the first martyr: whom

[1 And so to run that at length they might receive the prize. Ed.]

of London. And now because Grindall is gone (the Lord I doubt not hath and knoweth wherein he will bestow him), I trust to God it shall please him of his goodness to strengthen me to make up the trinity[2] out of Paul's church to suffer for Christ, whom God the Father hath anointed, the Holy Spirit doth bear witness unto, Paul and all the apostles preached. Thus fare you well. I had no paper; I was constrained thus to write.

he so called, because he was the first that suffered here in those bloody days. M. C.

LETTER XXIV.

From Augustine Bernher *to* Ridley.

MSS. Bibl. Emm. Coll. apud Cantab.

Although I am so weary as any man can be, by the reason of my journey I have had this day, yet I cannot but write two or three words to your lordship, desiring you for God's sake to pardon me because of my long absence contrary to my promise: but if you had known whereabouts I had been occupied, I am sure you would pardon me, although your lordship shall understand that I had no time at all to write out your book, the which thing truly is a great sorrow unto me. I have brought them all again, lest peradventure you should have need of them; and if so be that your goodness would let me have them for a while, I would copy them out with all haste possible.

Good my lord, conceive nothing against me, for since my departure hence there hath been such turmoilings as never was in London, as I doubt not but your lordship hath heard of it. As yet all things go forward to the great pain of godly ministers and the perpetual shame of the people. The best tragedy to describe it would ask a great deal of time. If so be that your lordship hath not heard of the matter, I shall certify the same by my simple writing.

My lord, I pray you as you have at all times (preserved) your books, so I trust you will do forward; and if so be that God shall take your lordship out of this misery, I

[2] The other two were Rogers and Bradford, prebendaries of St Paul's. Ed.]

would by all means possible get them in print beyond the seas, where I shall have the help of learned men.

Mr Bradford moveth to-morrow towards Lancashire with my lord of Derby. I have promised him to meet him at Coventry; therefore I pray you let me hear of you this day, for to-morrow I will be gone very early.

LETTER XXV. (Coverdale.)

To Augustine Berneher.

This alms was sent him by the Lady Catherine Duchess of Suffolk, to whom he wrote again a worthy letter, which is lost, and many other written both to her and others. M. C.

Brother Augustine, I thank you for your manifold kindness. I have received my lady's grace's alms, six royals[1], six shillings, and eight pence. I have written a letter here unto her grace, but I have made no mention thereof; wherefore I desire you to render her grace hearty thanks. Blessed be God, as for myself I want nothing, but my lady's alms cometh happily to relieve my poor brother's necessity, whom you know they have cast and keep in prison; as I suppose, you know the cause why. Farewell, brother Austin, and take good heed, I pray you, and let my brother's case make you the more wary. Read my letter to my lady's grace. I would Mistress Wilkinson and Mrs Warcup had a copy of it: for although the letter is directed to my lady's grace alone, yet the matter thereof pertaineth indifferently to her grace and to all good women, which love God and his word in deed and truth.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XXVI. (Fox.)

To Augustine Berneher.

Brother Austin, where you desire so earnestly to know my mind in that part of the husband's letter unto his wife, wherein he permitting her "to do as she may, when she

[1 Rial or royal, a gold coin worth in 1 Henry VIII. 11*s.* 3*d.*, in 2 Ed. VI. 13*s.* 6*d.*, and in 2 Elizabeth 15*s.* Ed.]

cannot do what she would," giving this reason, "that she must keep her religion as she may in this realm, and God shall accept her will, and shall impute the fault to others:" also saying, "What blame is in her, if she use the religion here as she may, though it be not as she would?"—this seemeth to me to be a perilous saying, wherein I fear me the man tendereth his wife too much. I wish rather he had counselled her to depart the realm: for peradventure, she tarrying, to have bidden her openly and boldly, when she should have been commanded to follow ungodliness—to have bidden her, I say, there [and] then to have confessed the truth, and to have stood in it—he thought, and peradventure knew, was more than she was like to do. But I suppose, if she had considered more deeply her husband's mind in writing—that his counsel savoured of his so tender a zeal towards her, [rather] than of the contempt of all worldly and carnal affections, which ought to be in Christ's cause; and upon the same had required licence to have departed the realm; yea, and then had departed indeed, rather than, after certain knowledge had of their ungodly ways, to seem to allow the same by her, in this case, open acts, and so not to have followed her husband's former counsel; I think she should less have offended her husband than she doth now, in that she hath made his letter,—not so warily written (methinks) as I would have wished it had been (if it were her deed[2])—to have come to the knowledge of those that will use it, and construe it to the worst, to the defence of and maintenance of ungodly ways.

Nicholas Ridley.

LETTER XXVII. (Coverdale.)

To Mistress Glover, *a woman zealous and hearty in the cause and furtherance of God's gospel.*

Mistress Glover, I wish you grace and peace; and although I am not acquainted with you, yet nevertheless.

[2 If it were by her means that her husband's letter was made public. Ed.]

hearing that your husband, Master Glover[1], is in prison for God's word's sake, and also that you are a woman hearty in God's cause, and, thirdly, that old father Latimer is your uncle or near cousin, whom I do think the Lord hath placed to be his standard-bearer in our age and country against his mortal foe antichrist, I was thus bold to write unto you in God's behalf, to do according to the report which I hear of you; that is, that you be hearty in God's cause, and hearty to your Master Christ, in furthering of his cause and setting forth his soldiers to his wars to the uttermost of your power. Let no carnality nor worldly regard of any thing let[a] you to declare your true heart, which you are said to bear to your Master Christ above all other things. Be hearty now also to your husband, and declare yourself to love him in God, as the true faithful christian woman unto her husband is bound to do. Now, seeing your husband, which is set by God's ordinance to be your head, is ready to suffer and abide in adversity by his Master's cause, and to cleave to his head Christ, see likewise that you do your duty accordingly, and cleave unto him your head: suffer with him that you may further his cause. His cause now I understand to be Christ's cause; and therefore beware, good sister in Christ, that in no wise ye hinder it. Love so his body, and the ease and wealth thereof, as your love may further him to the winning both of body and soul unto everlasting life. And this love shall both God allow, your husband shall have just cause to rejoice thereof, and all the godly to commend you therefore, and to number you, for the same, among the godly and holy women of God. To your husband I have written more. And thus fare you well now, good dear sister in our Saviour Christ. I was the bolder to write unto you, for that I understood my dearly beloved brother Austin, whom I call Faustus, should[b] be the carrier; a man whom I think God hath appointed to do much pleasure for his prest[2] servants to his wars.

[a] hinder.

[b] would.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

[1] He was burned at Coventry a short time before Bishop Ridley suffered martyrdom. Ed.]

[2] Ready, zealous. Ed.]

LETTER XXVIII. (Coverdale.)

To a friend that came to visit him in prison, but could not speak with him.

Well beloved, I thank you heartily for your manifold kindness, but the Lord shall (I trust) aequit you your meed[a]. Though Satan rage, the Lord is strong enough to bridle him, and to put an iron chain over his nose when it shall please him. In the mean time they that are the Lord's will flee unto him, and assuredly he will not forsake them that seek unto him in very deed and in truth. This bearer, my man, is trusty, you may send your token by him. Let Nicholas keep still the shirts. The Lord reward that lady Wyatt, which for his sake hath thus remembered me: I do not know her person. What can I render to Mistress Wilkinson for all her benefits? Nothing surely, but to desire the Lord to aequit[b] her with his heavenly grace. If you tarry I shall have more to say to you, peradventure, hereafter. Now, *Vale in Domino charissime.*

[a] render you your reward.

[b] requite.

Yours in Christ, N. R.

LETTER XXIX. (Coverdale.)

To a Cousin[3] of his.

God's Holy Spirit be with you now and ever, Amen. When I call to remembrance, beloved cousin, the state of those that for fear of trouble, either for loss of goods, will do in the sight of the world those things that they know and be assured are contrary to the will of God, I can do no less but lament their ease; being assured that the end thereof will be so pitiful, without speedy repentance, that I tremble and fear to have it in remembrance. I would to God it lay upon some earthly burden, so that freedom of conscience might be given unto them. I write, as God knoweth, not of presumption, but only lamenting their state,

[3] According to Gloucester Ridley, this cousin was Mabel, granddaughter of Lord Dacre, married to his cousin Nicholas Ridley. Ed.]

who, I thought, now in this dangerous time should have given both you and me comfortable instructions. But, alas! instead thereof we have persuasions to follow (I lament me to rehearse it) superstitious idolatry; yea, and that worst of all is, they will seek to prove it by the Scripture. The Lord for his mercy turn their hearts. Amen.

Yours, N. R.

LETTER XXX. (Coverdale.)

A Letter of Master Edmund Grindall, *then being in exile* [a] 1564. *for the testimony of the truth, and now*[a] *Bishop of London, to* Dr Ridley, *prisoner in Oxford, which we thought good here to place; for that the letter following is an answer thereof.*

Gratiam[1] *et consolationem a Domino et servatore nostro Jesu Christo.*—Sir, I have often been desirous to have written to you, and to have heard from you, but the iniquity of the times have hitherto always put me forth of all hope and comfort. Now at this present God seemeth to offer some likelihood that these might come to your hands, which I thought to use, referring the rest to God's disposition. Your present state not I only (who of all other am most bound,) but also all other our brethren here, do most heartily lament, as joined with the most miserable captivity that ever any church of Christ hath suffered. Notwithstanding we give God most humble thanks, for that he hath so strengthened you, and others your concaptives, to profess a good profession before so many witnesses. And I doubt nothing, but he that hath called you and them, not only to believe upon him but also to suffer for him, doth not leave you destitute of that unspeakable comfort, which he useth to minister abundantly to his in the school of the cross. He grant that his name may be glorified in you, whether it be by life or death; as may be most to his honour and your everlasting consolation.

[1 Grace and consolation from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Ed.]

Sir, I thought it good to advertise you partly of our state in these parts. We be here dispersed in divers and several places. Certain be at Tigury[2], good students of either university a number, very well entreated of Master Bullinger, of the other ministers, and of the whole city. Another number of us remain at Argentine[3], and take the commodity of Master Martyr's lessons, who is a very notable father. Master Scory and certain other with him be in Friesland, and have an English church there, but not very frequent[b]. The greatest number is at Frankfort, where I was at this present by occasion, a very fair city, the magistrates favourable to our people, with so many other commodities as exiles can well look for. Here is also a church, and now (God be thanked) well quieted by the prudence of Master Coxe and other which met here for that purpose. So that now, we trust, God hath provided for such as will flee forth of Babylon a resting place, where they may truly serve him and hear the voice of their true pastor. I suppose in one place and other dispersed, there be well nigh an hundred students and ministers on this side the seas. Such a Lord is God, to work diversely in his, according to his unsearchable wisdom, who knoweth best what is in man. *Primus est victoriæ*[4] *titulus, Gentilium manibus apprehensum Dominum confiteri. Secundus ad gloriam gradus est, cauta secessione subtractum Domino reservari. Illa publica, hæc privata confessio est. Ille judicem seculi vincit, hic contentus Deo suo judice conscientiam puram cordis integritate custodit. Illic fortitudo promptior, hic solicitudo securior. Ille appropin-*

[b] crowded.

Cyprianus de lapsis.

[2] Zurich. Ed.] [3] Strasburg. Ed.]

[4] S. Cypriani de lapsis. Op. Ed. Ben. Par. 1726, p. 182. The first title of victory is for one, who taken by the hands of the heathen confesses the Lord—the second path up to glory is taken by that man who by a prudent withdrawing is preserved to the Lord. The former is a public, the latter a private confession. The former challenges and obtains the verdict of this present world—the latter, content that God should be his judge, preserves a pure conscience in the integrity of his heart. In the former case is there a more prompt fortitude, in the latter a more secure solicitude—the one, when his hour approaches, is found already mature; the other perchance is reserved, who having left his patrimony, on that account has departed, because he would not deny [his faith], but had he been detained, would also himself have confessed it. Ed.]

quante hora sua jam maturus inventus est. Hic fortasse dilatus est, qui patrimonio derelicto idcirco secessit, quia non erat negaturus, confiteretur utique si fuisset et ipse detentus. We have also here certain copies of your answers in the disputation; *Item Antoniana objecta cum responsione.* The treatise in English against transubstantiation, which in time shall be translated into Latin. It hath been thought best not to print them, till we see what God will do with you; both for[e] incensing of their malicious fury, and also for restraining you and others from writing hereafter, which should be a greater loss to the church of Christ, than forbearing of these for a time. If I shall know your will to be otherwise in it, the same shall be followed. Thus much I thought good to let you understand concerning these matters, and concerning the poor state of men here; who most earnestly and incessantly do cry unto God for the delivery of his church, to behold the causes of the afflicted, and to hear the groans of his imprisoned, knowing that you, who in this state have more familiar access unto God, do not forget us. God comfort you, aid you, and assist you with his Spirit and grace, to continue his unto the end, to the glory of his name, the edification of his church, and the subversion of antichrist's kingdom. Amen.

[e] for fear of.

E. G.

From Frankfort, the 6th of May, 1555.

LETTER XXXI. (Coverdale.)

The Answer of Dr Ridley *to the former Letter.*

Blessed be God, our heavenly Father, which inclined your heart to have such a desire to write unto me; and blessed be he again, which hath heard your request, and hath brought your letters safe unto my hands: and over all this, I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the same, of the knowledge of your state, and of other our dearly beloved brethren and countrymen in those parts beyond the sea.

Dearly beloved brother Grindall, I say to you, and all the rest of our brethren in Christ with you, Rejoice in the Lord; and as ye love me and the other my reverend fathers and concaptives, (which undoubtedly are *gloria Christi*[a]), lament not our state; but I beseech you and them all to give unto our heavenly Father, for his endless mercies and unspeakable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For know ye, that as the weight of his cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us; and I trust, yea, by his grace, I doubt nothing, but he will so do for Christ our Master's sake even to the end. To hear that you and our other brethren do find in your exile favour and grace with the magistrates, ministers, and citizens at Tigury[1], at Frankfort, and otherwhere, it doth greatly comfort (I dare say) all here that do indeed love Christ and his true word. I ensure[b] you it warmed my heart to hear you by chance to name some, as Scory and Coxe, &c. Oh that it had come in your mind to have said somewhat also of Cheeke, of Turner, of Leaver, of Sampson, of Chambers; but I trust to God, they be all well. And, Sir, seeing you say that there be in those parts with you of students and ministers so good a number, now therefore care you not for us, otherwise than to wish that God's glory may be set forth by us. For whensoever God shall call us home, (as we look daily for none other but when it shall please God to say, "Come,") ye, blessed be God, are enough through his aid to light and set up again the lantern of his word in England. As concerning the copies ye say ye have with you, I wonder how ever they did wander and could find the way to come to you. My disputation, except you have that which I gathered myself after the disputation done, I cannot think ye have it truly. If ye have that, then ye have therewithal the whole manner after the which I was used in the disputation.

[a] the glory of Christ.

[b] assure.

As for the treatise in English, *Contra transubstantiationem*[2],

[1] Zurich. Ed.]

[2] As for the treatise in English against transubstantiation, I can scarcely be induced to believe it worth translating into Latin. As to the rest, whatever may happen, I should in no manner wish, that any

vix possum adduci, ut credam operæ pretium fore ut in Latinum transferatur. Cæterum quicquid sit, nullo modo velim ut quicquam quocunque modo meo nomine ederetur, donec quid de nobis Dominus constituerit fieri, vobis prius certo constiterit: and thus much unto your letters. Now, although I suppose ye know a good part of our state here, (for we are forthcoming even as when ye departed, &c.) you shall understand that I was in the Tower about the space of two months, close prisoner; and after that, had granted to me without my labour the liberty of the Tower, and so continued about half-a-year; then, because I refused to allow[c] the mass with my presence, I was shut up in close prison again.

[c] sanction.

The last Lent save one, it chanced by reason of the tumult stirred up in Kent[1], there was so many prisoners in the Tower, that my Lord of Canterbury, Mr Latimer, Mr Bradford, and I, were put altogether in one prison, where we remained still almost to the next Easter; and then we three, Canterbury, Latimer, and I, were suddenly sent a little before Easter to Oxford, and were suffered to have nothing with us, but that we carried upon us. About the Whitsuntide following was our disputations at Oxford; after the which was all taken from us, as pen and ink, &c.; our own servants were taken from us before, and every one had put to him a strange man; and we each one appointed to be kept in several[2] places, as we are unto this day.

Blessed be God, we three at the writing hereof were in good health, and (in God) of good cheer. We have looked long ago to have been despatched; for we were all three on one day, within a day or two of our disputations, of Doctor Weston, (being the head commissioner), condemned for heretics; and since that time we remain as we were of him left. The Lord's will be fulfilled in us; as I do not doubt, but by his grace it shall be to his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Likewise the Lord hitherto hath preserved, above all our

thing should in any way be published in my name until you are made certainly acquainted with what it may have pleased the Lord to determine concerning us. Ed.]

[1 Wyatt's Insurrection. Ed.]

[2 Separate. Ed.]

expectation, our dear brother, and in Christ's cause a strong champion, John Bradford. He is likewise condemned, and is already delivered unto the secular power, and writs (as we have heard say) given out for his execution, and called in again. Thus the Lord, so long as his blessed pleasure is, preserveth whom he listeth, notwithstanding the wonderful raving of the world. Many (as we hear say) have suffered valiantly, confessing Christ's truth, and nothing yielding to the adversary, yea, not for the fear or pains of death.

The names of them which I knew, and have now suffered, are these:—Farrar, the Bishop of St David's; Hooper, the Bishop of Worcester; Rogers, *tuus olim comprebendarius*[3]; Doctor Taylor, of Hadley; Mr Saunders; and one Tomkins, a weaver: and now, this last day, Mr Cardmaker with another were burnt in Smithfield at London, and many others in Essex and Kent, whose names are written in the book of life, whom yet I do not know.

West, your old companion, and sometime mine officer, alas! hath relented, (as I have heard); but the Lord hath shortened his days, for anon he died and is gone. Grimbold was caught by the heel and cast into the Marshalsea, but now is at liberty again; but I fear me he escaped not without some becking and bowing (alas) of his knee unto Baal.

This West when he had relented and said mass against his conscience, shortly after pined away and died for sorrow. M. C.

My dear friend Thomas Ridley, of the Bull Head in Cheape, which was to me the most faithful friend that I had in my trouble, is departed also unto God. My brother Shipside, that hath married my sister, hath been almost half a year in prison, for delivering (as he was accused) of certain things, I ween, from me; but now, thanks be to God, he is at liberty again, but so that the bishop hath taken from him his park.

Of all us three concaptives at Oxford I am kept most strait, and with least liberty; [4]*vel quia viro in cujus adibus*

[3] Once thy fellow prebendary. Ed.]

[4] Either because the man in whose house I am a prisoner is ruled (though he be the mayor of the city) by his wife, an old ill-tempered and most superstitious woman, who indeed takes it to herself as a matter of praise, that she is said to guard me most strictly and cautiously. The man himself, however, whose name is Irish, is good-tempered enough to every body, but to his wife most obsequious. Now although, as you

ego custodior, uxor dominatur (licet modo sit præfectus civitatis) mulier vetula, morosa, et superstitiosissima; quæ etiam hoc sibi laudi ducit, quod me dicatur arctissime et cautissime custodire; vir autem ipse, Irischius nomine, mitis satis est omnibus, uxori vero plusquam obsequentissimus. Licet uxorem (uti nosti) nunquam habuerim, tamen ex hac quotidiana consuetudine, quam cum istis conjugibus habeo, videor mihi nonnihil posse intelligere, quam grave malum et intolerabile jugum sit cum mala muliere in conjugio colligari. Recte ergo sapiens dixit, Uxor bona donum Dei; et iterum, Mulieris bonæ beatus vir. Vel hæc, inquam, causa est, vel quia a magnis magistratibus (nescio quas ob causas) illud est, ut ita fieret, ipsis mandatum; id quod illi, siquando de mea nimia servitute apud eos conqueror, sedulo sæpe rursus mihi inculcant.

At Cambridge, (as I hear say), [1]*omnes studiorum et statutorum reformationes nuper factæ nunc sunt denuo deformatæ et deletæ, et omnia sunt in pristinum chaos et in antiquum papismum reducta: omnes collegiorum præfecti qui sinceritati evangelii favebant, vel qui conjugati erant, loco moti sunt, et alii papisticæ factionis in eorum loca surrogati; quod et de sociis collegiorum, qui noluerunt flectere genu Baali, factum*

know, I have never myself had a wife, yet from my daily association with this couple I seem in some measure to understand, how great an evil and intolerable a yoke it is to be joined in wedlock with a bad woman. Rightly therefore has the wise man said, A good wife is the gift of God, and again, Blessed is the husband of a good woman—Either I say this is the cause, or because this has been so commanded them by the higher powers, (from what causes I know not)—which they, if ever I complain of my too strict imprisonment with them, often and diligently impress upon me. Ed.]

[1 All the reformations lately made with regard both to statutes and to studies are now again deformed and invalidated, and every thing reduced to its pristine chaos and ancient papistry. All those heads of Colleges who favoured the purity of the Gospel, or who were married, are removed from their places, and others of the popish faction placed in their stead; and this also I hear to be the case with those fellows of Colleges who would not bow the knee to Baal. Nor is this to be wondered at, for the same line of conduct has been every where pursued throughout all the realm of England—to all Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Prebendaries, ministers of churches, and towards all the clergy; and to tell you much naughty matter in a few words, Papistry reigns every where among us in all its pristine strength. Ed.]

esse audio. Nec mirum; nam et istud passim factum est in universo regno Angliæ in omnibus Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis, prebendariis, sacerdotibus ecclesiarum, et in toto clero; and to tell you much naughty matter in a few words, *Papismus apud nos ubique in pleno suo antiquo robore regnat.*

The Lord be merciful, and for Christ's sake pardon us our old unkindness and unthankfulness; for when he poured upon us the gifts of his manifold graces and favour, (alas) we did not serve him nor rendered unto him thanks according to the same. We pastors, many of us, were too cold, and bare too much (alas) with the wicked world; our magistrates did abuse, to their own worldly gain, both God's gospel and the ministers of the same; the people in many places was wayward and unkind. Thus of every side, and of every sort, we have provoked God's anger and wrath to fall upon us. But blessed might he be, that hath not suffered his to continue in those ways, which so wholly have displeased his sacred majesty; but hath awaked them by the fatherly correction of his own Son's cross, unto his glory and our endless salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord. My daily prayer is (as God doth know), and by God's grace shall be so long as I live in this world, for you my dear brethren that are fled out of your own country, because ye will rather forsake all worldly things, than the truth of God's word. It is even the same that I used to make to God for all those churches abroad through the world, which have forsaken the kingdom of Antichrist, and professed openly the purity of the Gospel of Jesus Christ: that is, that God our eternal Father, for our Saviour Christ's sake, will daily increase in you the gracious gift of his heavenly Spirit, to the true setting forth of his glory and of his Gospel, and make you to agree brotherly in the truth of the same, that there rise no root of bitterness among you, that may infect that good seed that God hath sown in your hearts already; and finally, that your life may be so pure and so honest, according to the rule of God's word, and according to that vocation whereunto we are called by the Gospel of Christ our Saviour, that the honesty and purity of the same may provoke all that shall see or know it to the love of your doctrine, and to love you for your honesty and virtue's sake,

and so both in the brotherly unity of your true doctrine, and also in the godly virtue of your honest life, to glorify our Father which is in heaven.

[1]*Ex nostratibus magni aliquot magistratus, Cancellarius Wint. Comes Arundellus, et dominus Pachetus, jam legatione funguntur una cum Cardinali Polo, in partibus transmarinis, ad componendam (ut aiunt) pacem inter imperatorem, regem nostrum, et Francorum regem. Post illorum magistratuum nostrorum reditum, et partum reginæ, quem jam quotidie expectamus, etiam aliquandiu expectavimus, quemque Deus pro sui nominis gloria dignetur bene illi fortunare, nos tunc statim nihil aliud quam nostræ confessionis de hoste nostro antiquo triumphales in Domino coronas expectamus.*

Omnium vestrum precibus me humillime et ex toto corde commendo; in primis tuis, o charissime in Christo frater et dilectissime Grindalle, et charissimorum fratrum et unice mihi in Domino dilectorum, Checi, Coxi, Turneri, Leveri, Sampsonis, Chamberi, et omnium fratrum nostrorum et conterraneorum qui apud vos degunt, et diligunt Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in veritate. Commendo etiam vobis reveren-

[1 Certain great persons of our government—Winchester the Chancellor, the Earl of Arundel and Lord Paget are now engaged in an embassy together with Cardinal Pole, in the parts beyond sea, to negociate, as they say, a peace between the emperor, our Sovereign*, and the king of the French. After the return of these our nobles, and the confinement of the Queen, which we now daily look for, and have indeed for some time expected, (and which may God for the glory of his name vouchsafe to render happy to her), we then expect nothing else than the immediate crowns of our confession from our ancient foe. I commend myself most humbly and with all my heart to the prayers of you all. In the first place to thine, my most dear and beloved brother in Christ Grindall, and of those brethren most dear to me and only beloved in the Lord, Cheke, Cox, Turner, Lever, Sampson, Chambers, and of all our brethren and fellow countrymen who are residing among you, and who in truth love our Lord Jesus Christ. I commend also unto you my most reverend fathers and fellow prisoners in the Lord, Thomas Cranmer, most worthy indeed of the title of Chief Pastor and Archbishop, and that veteran, the true apostle of our Anglican people and of Christ, Hugh Latimer. Pardon me, my brother, the prolixity of this letter, for after this I believe you will never again be troubled, my dearest brother, with letters of mine. Oxford. Ed.]

[* Ridley uses the word "regem", referring without doubt to Philip, then king of Spain, and titular king of England; and possibly under the apprehension that should his letter be intercepted, an accusation of treason might otherwise be grounded on it against him. Ed.]

dissimos patres et concaptivos meos in Domino, Thomam Cranmerum, jam vere magni pastoris et Archipresulis nomine dignissimum; et veteranum illum nostræ gentis Anglicanæ verum apostolum et Christi, H. Latimerum. Condona mihi, frater, harum prolixitatem; non enim posthac, credo, charissime frater, meis literis jam amplius aliquando turbaberis. Oxonii.

LETTER XXXII. (Coverdale.)

A Letter which he wrote as his last Farewell[2]*, To all his true and faithful friends in God, a little before he suffered: with a sharp admonition, by the way, to the papists, the enemies of the truth.*

At the name of Jesus let every knee bow, both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth; and let every tongue confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, unto the glory of God the Father. Amen.

As a man minding to take a far journey, and to depart from his familiar friends, commonly and naturally hath a desire to bid his friends farewell before his departure; so likewise now I—looking daily when I should be called for to depart hence from you, (O all ye my dearly beloved brethren and sisters in our Saviour Christ, that dwell here in this world!) having a like mind towards you all, and also (blessed be God) for this such time and leisure, whereof I right heartily thank his heavenly goodness,—do bid you all, my dear brethren and sisters (I say) in Christ, that dwell upon the earth, after such manner as I can, farewell.

Farewell, my dear brother, George Shipside, whom I have ever found faithful, trusty, and loving in all states and conditions, and now in the time of my cross, over all other to

[2 These Farewells appear to have been written between the first day of October, 1555, when he was condemned at Oxford by the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, and the sixteenth of the same month, when he was burned. It was during this interval that Lord Dacre offered ten thousand pounds to the Queen if she would spare Ridley's life, which was refused. Ed.]

me most friendly and stedfast, and (that which liked me best,) over all other things in God's cause ever hearty.

Farewell, my dear sister Alice, his wife: I am glad to hear of thee that thou dost take Christ's cross, which is laid now (blessed be God) both on thy back and mine, in good part. Thank thou GOD that hath given thee a godly and a loving husband: see thou honour him and obey him, according to God's law. Honour thy mother-in-law, his mother, and love all those that pertain unto him, being ready to do them good, as it shall lie in thy power. As for thy children, I doubt not of thy husband, but that he which hath given him a heart to love and fear God, and in God them that pertain unto him, shall also make him friendly and beneficial unto thy children, even as if they had been gotten of his own body.

Farewell, my well-beloved brother, John Ridley, of the Waltowne, and you my gentle and loving sister, Elizabeth; whom, beside the natural league of amity, your tender love which you were said ever to bear towards me above the rest of your brethren, doth bind me to love. My mind was to have acknowledged this your loving affection, and to have acquitted[a] it with deeds, and not with words alone. Your daughter Elizabeth I bid farewell, whom I love for the meek and gentle spirit that God hath given her, which is a precious thing in the sight of God.

[a] requited.

Farewell, my beloved sister of Unthank, with all your children, my nephews and nieces. Since the departure of my brother Hugh, my mind was to have been unto them in the stead of their father; but the Lord God must and will be their father, if they will love him and fear him, and live in the trade of his law.

Farewell, my well-beloved and worshipful cousins, Master Nicholas Ridley of Willimountswick, and your wife; and I thank you for all your kindness, shewed both to me and also to all your own kinsfolk and mine. Good cousin, as GOD hath set you in that our stock and kindred, not for any respect of your person, but of his abundant grace and goodness, to be as it were the bel-wether to order and conduct the rest, and hath also endued you with his manifold gifts of grace, both heavenly and worldly, above others; so I pray

you, good cousin, (as my trust and hope is in you,) continue and increase in the maintenance of truth, honesty, righteousness, and all true godliness, and to the uttermost of your power, to withstand falsehood, untruth, unrighteousness, and all ungodliness, which is forbid and condemned by the word and laws of God.

Farewell, my young cousin, Ralph Whitfield. Oh, your time was very short with me: my mind was to have done you good, and yet you caught[b] in that little time a loss; but I trust it shall be recompensed, as it shall please Almighty God.

[b] sustained.

Farewell, all my whole kindred and countrymen, farewell in Christ, altogether. The Lord which is the searcher of secrets knoweth, that according to my heart's desire, my hope was of late that I should have come among you, and to have brought with me abundance of Christ's blessed Gospel; according to the duty of that office and ministry, whereunto among you I was chosen, named, and appointed by the mouth of that our late peerless prince, king Edward, and so also denounced[c] openly in his court by his privy council.

[c] announced.

I warn you, all my well-beloved kinsfolk and countrymen, that ye be not amazed or astonied at the kind of my departure or dissolution: for I ensure you I think it the most honour that ever I was called unto in all my life; and therefore I thank my Lord GOD heartily for it, that it hath pleased him to call me of his great mercy unto this high honour, to suffer death willingly for his sake and in his cause; unto the which honour he called the holy prophets, and his dearly beloved apostles, and his blessed, chosen martyrs. For know ye that I doubt no more, but that the causes wherefore I am put to death are God's causes, and the causes of the truth, than I doubt that the Gospel which John wrote is the Gospel of Christ, or that Paul's Epistles are the very word of GOD. And to have a heart willing to abide and stand in God's cause and in Christ's quarrel even unto death, I ensure thee (O man) it is an inestimable and an honourable gift of GOD, given only to the true elects and dearly beloved children of GOD, "and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven." For the holy Apostle and also martyr

1 Pet. iv. in Christ's cause, St Peter, saith; "If ye suffer rebuke in the name of Christ, that is, in Christ's cause, and for his truth's sake, then are ye happy and blessed, for the glory of the Spirit of God resteth upon you." If for rebuke's sake, suffered in Christ's name, a man is pronounced by the mouth of that holy Apostle blessed and happy, how much more happy and blessed is he that hath the grace to suffer death also! Wherefore all ye that be my true lovers and friends, rejoice and rejoice with me again, and render with me hearty thanks to God our heavenly Father, that for his Son's sake, my Saviour and Redeemer Christ, he hath vouchsafed to call me, being else without his gracious goodness in myself but a sinful and a vile wretch, to call me (I say) unto this high dignity of his true prophets, of his faithful Apostles, and of his holy, elect, and chosen martyrs; that is, to die, and to spend this temporal life in the defence and maintenance of his eternal and everlasting truth.

Ye know, that be my countrymen dwelling upon the borders, where (alas) the true man suffereth oftentimes much wrong at the thief's hand, if it chance a man to be slain of a thief, (as it oft chanceth there,) which went out with his neighbour to help him to rescue his goods again; that, the more cruelly he be slain, and the more stedfastly he stuck by his neighbour in the fight against the face of the thief, the more favour and friendship shall all his posterity have for the slain man's sake of all them that be true, as long as the memory of his fact[d], and his posterity, doth endure. Even so, ye that be my kinsfolk and countrymen, know ye, (howsoever the blind, ignorant, and wicked world hereafter shall rail upon my death, which thing they cannot do worse than their fathers did of the death of Christ our Saviour, of his holy prophets, Apostles, and martyrs;) know ye, I say, that both before God and all them that be godly, and that truly know and follow the laws of God, ye have and shall have, by God's grace, ever cause to rejoice, and to thank God highly, and to think good of it, and in God to rejoice of me, your flesh and blood, whom God of his gracious goodness hath vouchsafed to associate unto the blessed company of his holy martyrs in heaven. And I doubt not, in the infinite goodness of my Lord God, nor in the

[d] deed.

faithful fellowship of his elect and chosen people, but at both their hands, in my cause, ye shall rather find the more favour and grace: "for the Lord saith that he will be both to them and theirs that love him, the more loving again in a thousand generations; the Lord is so full of mercy to them (I say) and theirs, which do love him in deed. And Christ saith again, "that no man can shew more love than to give his life for his friend." Deut. vii. John xv.

Now also know ye, all my true lovers in God, my kinsfolk and countrymen, that the cause wherefore I am put to death is even after the same sort and condition, but touching more near God's cause, and in more weighty matters, but in the general kind all one; for both is God's cause, both is in the maintenance of right, and both for the commonwealth, and both for the weal also of the Christian brother; although yet there is in these two no small difference, both concerning the enemies, the goods stolen, and the manner of the fight. For know ye all, that like as there when the poor true man is robbed by the thief of his own goods truly gotten, whereupon he and his household should live, he is greatly wronged, and the thief in stealing and robbing with violence the poor man's goods doth offend God, doth transgress his law, and is injurious both to the poor man and to the commonwealth: so, I say, know ye all, that even here (in the cause of my death) it is with the Church of England, I mean the congregation of the true chosen children of God in this realm of England, which I acknowledge not only to be my neighbours, but rather the congregation of my spiritual brethren and sisters in Christ, yea, members of one body, wherein by God's grace I am and have been grafted in Christ. This Church of England had of late, of the infinite goodness and abundant grace of Almighty God, great substance, great riches of heavenly treasure, great plenty of God's true and sincere word, the true and wholesome administration of Christ's holy sacraments, the whole profession of Christ's religion truly and plainly set forth in baptism, the plain declaration and understanding of the same taught in the holy catechism, to have been learned of all true Christians. This church had also a true and sincere form and manner of the Lord's Supper, wherein, according to Jesus Christ's own ordinance

and holy institution, Christ's commandments were executed and done. For upon the bread and wine set upon the Lord's table thanks were given, the commemoration of the Lord's death was had, the bread in the remembrance of Christ's body torn upon the cross was broken, and the cup in the remembrance of Christ's blood shed was distributed, and both communicated unto all that were present and would receive them, and also they were exhorted of the minister so to do. All was done openly in the vulgar tongue, so that every thing might be both easily heard and plainly understood of all the people, to God's high glory, and the edification of the whole church. This church had of late the whole Divine service, all common and public prayers ordained to be said and heard in the common congregation, not only framed and fashioned to the true vein of Holy Scripture, but also all things so set forth according to the commandment of the Lord and St Paul's doctrine, for the people's edification, in their vulgar tongue. It had also holy and wholesome Homilies, in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture; and likewise other homilies against the most pernicious and capital vices that useth (alas) to reign in this realm of England. This church had, in matters of controversy, Articles so penned and framed after the Holy Scripture, and grounded upon the true understanding of God's word, that in short time, if they had been universally received, they should have been able to have set in Christ's church much concord and unity in Christ's true religion, and to have expelled many false errors and heresies, wherewith this church (alas) was almost overgone. But (alas) of late into this spiritual possession of the heavenly treasure of these godly riches are entered in thieves, that have robbed and spoiled all this heavenly treasure away. I may well complain on these thieves, and cry out upon them with the prophet, saying, *Deus, venerunt gentes in hæreditatem tuam*, etc. O Lord GOD, the Gentiles, heathen nations are come into thy heritage, they have defiled thy holy temple, and made Jerusalem an heap of stones; that is, they have broken and beat down to the ground thy holy city. This heathenish generation, these thieves of Samaria, these Sabæi and Chaldæi, these robbers have rushed out of their dens,

Psal. lxxix.

and have robbed the Church of England of all the aforesaid holy treasure of God; they have carried it away and overthrown it; and in the stead of God's holy word, the true and right administration of Christ's holy sacraments, as of baptism and others, they mixed their ministry with men's foolish phantasies, and many wicked and ungodly traditions withal. In the stead of the Lord's holy table they give the people, with much solemn disguising, a thing which they call their mass; but in deed and in truth it is a very masking and mockery of the true supper of the Lord, or rather I may call it a crafty juggling, whereby these false thieves and jugglers have bewitched the minds of the simple people, that they have brought them from the true worship of GOD unto pernicious idolatry; and make them to believe that to be Christ our Lord and Saviour, which indeed is neither God nor man, nor hath any life in itself, but in substance is the creature of bread and wine, and in use of the Lord's table is the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; and for[e] this holy use, for the which the Lord hath ordained them in his table to represent unto us his blessed body torn upon the cross for us and his blood there shed, it pleased him to call them his body and blood; which understanding Christ declareth to be his true meaning, when he saith, "Do this in the remembrance of me." And again, St Paul likewise doth set out the same more plainly, speaking of the same sacrament after the words of the consecration, saying, "As often as ye shall eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye shall set forth (he meaneth, with the same) the Lord's death until his coming again." And here again these thieves have robbed also the people of the Lord's cup, contrary to the plain words of Christ written in his gospel.

[e] on account of.

Now, for the common public prayers which were in the vulgar tongue, these thieves have brought in again a strange tongue, whereof the people understand not one word. Wherein what do they else, but rob the people of their divine service, wherein they ought to pray together with the minister? And to pray in a strange tongue, what is it but, as St Paul calleth it, barbarousness, childishness, unprofitable folly, yea, and plain madness? For the godly articles of unity in religion, and for the wholesome homilies, what

do these thieves place in the stead of them, but the pope's laws and decrees, lying legends, and feigned fables and miracles, to delude and abuse the simplicity of the rude people? Thus this robbery and theft is not only committed, nay sacrilege and wicked spoil of heavenly things, but also in the stead of the same is brought in and placed the abominable desolation of the tyrant Antiochus, of proud Sennacherib, of the shameless-faced king of the Babylonical beast. Unto this robbery, this theft and sacrilege, for that I cannot consent, nor, God willing, never shall so long as the breath is in my body, (because it is blasphemy against God, high treason unto Christ our heavenly King, Lord, Master, and our only Saviour and Redeemer, it is plain contrary to God's word and to Christ's Gospel, it is the subversion of all true godliness, and against the everlasting salvation of mine own soul, and of all my brethren and sisters whom Christ my Saviour hath so dearly bought with no less price than with the effusion and shedding forth of his most precious blood;) therefore, all ye my true lovers in GOD, my kinsfolk and countrymen, for this cause, I say, know ye that I am put to death; which, by God's grace, I shall willingly take, with hearty thanks to GOD therefore, in certain hope, without any doubting, to receive at God's hand again, of his free mercy and grace, everlasting life.

Case. Although the cause[f] of the true man, slain of the thief helping his neighbour to recover his goods again, and the cause wherefore I am to be put to death, in a generality is both one, (as I said before,) yet know ye that there is no small difference. These thieves against whom I do stand, are much worse than the robbers and thieves of the borders. The goods which they steal, are much more precious, and their kinds of fight are far diverse. These thieves are worse, I say, for they are more cruel, more wicked, more false, more deceitful and crafty; for those will but kill the body, but these will not stick to kill both body and soul. Those, for the general theft and robbery, be called, and are indeed, thieves and robbers: but these, for their spiritual kind of robbery, are called "sacrilegi;" as ye would say, church-robbers. They are more wicked: for those go about but to spoil men of worldly things,

worldly riches, gold and silver, and worldly substance; these go about in the ways of the devil, their ghostly father, to steal from the universal church, and particularly from every man, all heavenly treasure, true faith, true charity, and hope of salvation in the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, yea, to spoil us of our Saviour Christ, of his gospel, of his heavenly Spirit, and of the heavenly heritage of the kingdom of heaven so dearly purchased unto us with the death of our Master and Saviour Christ. These be the goods and godly substance whereupon the Christian before God must live, and without the which he cannot live; these goods (I say) these thieves, these church-robbers go about to spoil us of. The which goods, as to the man of God they excel and far pass all worldly treasure; so to withstand, even unto the death, such thieves as go about to spoil both us and the whole church of such goods, is most high and honourable service done unto God. These church-robbers be also much more false, crafty, and deceitful, than the thieves upon the borders: for these have not the craft so to commend their theft that they dare avouch it; and therefore, as acknowledging themselves to be evil, they steal commonly upon the night, they dare not appear at judgements and sessions, where justice is executed; and when they are taken and brought thither, they never hang any man, but they be oftentimes hanged for their faults. But these church-robbers can so cloke and colour their spiritual robbery, that they can make the people to believe falsehood to be truth, and truth falsehood; good to be evil, and evil good; light to be darkness, and darkness light; superstition to be true religion, and idolatry to be the true worship of God; and that which is in substance the creature of bread and wine, to be none other substance but only the substance of Christ, the living Lord, both God and man. And with this their falsehood and craft they can so juggle and bewitch the understanding of the simple, that they dare avouch it openly in court and in town, and fear neither hanging nor heading, as the poor thieves of the borders do, but stout and strong like Nembroth dare condemn to be burned in flaming fire, quick and alive, whosoever will go about to betray their falsehood.

The kind of fight against these church-robbers is also of another sort and kind, than is that which is against the thieves of the borders. For there the true men go forth against them with spear and lance, with bow and bill, and all such kind of bodily weapons as the true men have; but here, as the enemies be of another nature, so the watchmen of Christ's flock, the warriors that fight in the Lord's war, must be armed and fight with another kind of weapon and armour. For here the enemies of God, the soldiers of antichrist, although the battle is set forth against the church by mortal men being flesh and blood, and nevertheless members of their father the devil; yet for that their grand master is the power of darkness, their members are spiritual wickedness, wicked spirits, spirits of errors, of heresies, of all deceit and ungodliness, spirits of idolatry, superstition and hypocrisy, which are called of St Paul *principates* and powers, lords of the world, rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual subtilties concerning heavenly things: and therefore our weapons must be fit and meet to fight against such; not carnal nor bodily weapons, as spear and lance, but spiritual and heavenly; we must fight against such with the armour of God, not intending to kill their bodies, but their errors, their false craft and heresies, their idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, and to save (as much as lieth in us) both their bodies and souls. And therefore, as St Paul teacheth us, we fight not against flesh and blood, that is, we fight not with bodily weapons to kill the man, but with the weapons of God, to put to flight his wicked errors and vice, and to save both body and soul. Our weapons therefore are faith, hope, charity, righteousness, truth, patience, prayer unto God; and our sword wherewith we smite our enemies, we beat and batter and bear down all falsehood, is the word of God. With these weapons, under the banner of the cross of Christ, we do fight, ever having our eye upon our grand Master, Duke and Captain, Christ: and then we reckon ourselves to triumph and to win the crown of everlasting bliss, when, enduring in this battle without any shrinking or yielding to the enemies, after the example of our grand captain, Christ our Master, after the example of his holy prophets, apostles,

Ephes. vi.

Ephes. vi.

and martyrs, when (I say) we are slain in our mortal bodies of our enemies, and are most cruelly and without all mercy murdered down like a many[g] of sheep. And the more cruel, the more painful, the more vile and spiteful is the kind of the death whereunto we be put, the more glorious in God, the more blessed and happy we reckon, without all doubts, our martyrdom to be.

[g] multitude.

And thus much, dear lovers and friends in God, my countrymen and kinsfolk, I have spoken for your comfort, lest of my death (of whose life you looked peradventure sometimes to have had honesty, pleasures, and commodities,) ye might be abashed or think any evil: whereas ye have rather cause to rejoice, (if ye love me indeed,) for that it hath pleased God to call me to a greater honour and dignity, than ever I did enjoy before, either in Rochester or in the see of London, or ever should have had in the see of Durham, whereunto I was last of all elected and named. Yea, I count it greater honour before God indeed to die in his cause, (whereof I nothing doubt,) than is any earthly or temporal promotion or honour that can be given to a man in this world. And who is he that knoweth the cause to be God's, to be Christ's quarrel and of his gospel, to be the common weal of all the elect and chosen children of God, of all the inheritors of the kingdom of heaven, who is he, I say, that knoweth this assuredly by God's word, and the testimony of his own conscience, (as I through the infinite goodness of God, not of myself, but by his grace, acknowledge myself to do,) who is he, I say, that knoweth this, and both loveth and feareth God in deed and in truth, loveth and believeth his Master Christ and his blessed gospel, loveth his brotherhood, the chosen children of God, and also lusteth and longeth for everlasting life—who is he (I say again) that would not or cannot find in his heart, in this cause to be content to die? The Lord forbid that any such should be, that should forsake this grace of God! I trust in my Lord God, the God of mercies and the Father of all comfort, through Jesus Christ our Lord, that he which hath put this mind, will, and affection by his Holy Spirit in my heart, to stand against the face of the enemy in his cause, and to choose rather the loss of all my worldly

substance, yea, and of my life too, than to deny his known truth, that he will comfort me, aid me, and strengthen me evermore even unto the end, and to the yielding up of my spirit and soul into his holy hands: whereof I most heartily beseech his most holy sacred Majesty, of his infinite goodness and mercy, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Now that I have taken my leave of my countrymen and kinsfolks, and the Lord doth lend me life and giveth me leisure, I will bid my other good friends in God, of other places also, farewell. And whom first or before other, than the University of Cambridge? whereat I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits, (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted,) than ever I did even in mine own native country wherein I was born.

Farewell therefore, Cambridge, my loving mother and tender nurse! If I should not acknowledge thy manifold benefits, yea, if I should not for thy benefits at the least love thee again, truly I were to be accounted ungrate and unkind. What benefits hadst thou ever, that thou usest to give and bestow upon thy best beloved children, that thou thoughtest too good for me? Thou didst bestow on me all thy school degrees: of thy common offices, the chaplainship of the University, the office of the proctorship, and of a common reader; and of thy private commodities, and emoluments in colleges, what was it that thou madest me not partner of? First, to be scholar, then fellow, and after my departure from thee thou calledst me again to a mastership of a right worshipful college. I thank thee, my loving mother, for all this thy kindness; and I pray God that his laws, and the sincere gospel of Christ, may ever be truly taught and faithfully learned in thee.

Farewell, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own college, my cure and my charge! What case thou art in now, God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever named sithens[i] I knew thee (which is now a thirty years ago,) to be studious, well learned, and a great setter forth of Christ's gospel and of God's true word: so I found thee, and, blessed be God! so I left thee indeed. Woe is me for thee, mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought

[i] since.

from that trade. In thy orchard[1] (the walls, butts, and trees, if they could speak, would bear me witness,) I learned without book almost all Paul's epistles, yea and, I ween, all the canonical epistles, save only the Apocalypse. Of which study, although in time a great part did depart from me, yet the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven: for the profit thereof I think I have felt in all my lifetime ever after; and I ween, of late (whether they abide there now or no I cannot tell,) there was that did the like. The Lord grant, that this zeal and love toward that part of God's word, which is a key and a true commentary to all holy Scripture, may ever abide in that college, so long as the world shall endure.

From Cambridge I was called into Kent by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, that most reverend father and man of God, and of him by and by sent to be vicar of Herne in East Kent[2]. Wherefore farewell, Herne, thou worshipful and wealthy parish! the first cure whereunto I was called, to minister God's word. Thou hast heard of my mouth oftentimes the word of God preached, not after the popish trade, but after the Christ's gospel: oh that the fruit had answered to the seed! And yet I must acknowledge me to be thy debtor for the doctrine of the Lord's supper; which at that time, I acknowledge, God had not revealed unto me: but I bless God in[k] all that godly [k] for.
virtue and zeal of God's word, which the Lord by preaching of his word did kindle manifestly both in the heart and in the life and works of that godly woman there, my lady Phines[3]. The Lord grant that his word took like effect there in many other more.

Farewell, thou cathedral church of Canterbury, the metropolitic see, whereof once I was a member! To speak things pleasant unto thee I dare not, for danger of conscience and displeasure of my Lord God; and to say what

[1] There is a walk in the garden of Pembroke College still distinguished by the name of Ridley's walk. Ed.]

[2] Instituted April 30, 1538. Resigned 1549. Ed.]

[3] Sir John Fineux, Knt. was Lord of the Manor of Herne, and his wife Elizabeth, who died A. D. 1589, was probably the lady here referred to. Ed.]

lieth in my heart, were now too much, and I fear were able to do thee now but little good. Nevertheless, for the friendship I have found in some there, and for charity sake, I wish thee to be washed clean of all worldliness and ungodliness, that thou mayest be found of God (after thy name) Christ's church in deed and in truth.

Farewell, Rochester, sometime my cathedral see! in whom (to say the truth) I did find much gentleness and obedience; and I trust thou wilt not say the contrary, but I did use it to God's glory, and thine own profit in God. Oh that thou hadst and mightest have continued and gone forward in the trade of God's law, wherein I did leave thee! then thy charge and burden should not have been so terrible and dangerous, as I suppose verily it is like to be (alas!) on the latter day.

To Westminster other advertisement in God I have not now to say, than I have said before to the cathedral church of Canterbury; and so God give thee of his grace that thou mayest learn in deed and in truth to please him, after his own laws. And thus fare you well.

Oh London, London! to whom now may I speak in thee, or whom shall I bid farewell? Shall I speak to the prebendaries of Paul's? Alas! all that loved God's word, and were true setters forth thereof, are now (as I hear say) some burnt and slain, some exiled and banished, and some holden in hard prisons, and appointed daily to be put to most cruel death, for Christ's gospel sake. As for the rest of them, I know they could never brook me well, nor I could never delight in them. Shall I speak to the see thereof, wherein of late I was placed almost, and not fully, by the space of three years? But what may I say to it, being (as I hear say I am) deposed and expulsed by judgment, as an unjust usurper of that room? Oh judgment, judgment! Can this be just judgment, to condemn the chief minister of God's word, the pastor and bishop of the diocese, and never bring him into judgment, that he might have heard what crimes were laid to his charge, nor never suffer him to have any place or time to answer for himself? Thinkest thou that hereafter, when true justice shall have place, that this judgment can be allowed either of God or of man? Well, as

for the cause and whole matter of my deposition, and the spoil of my goods which thou possessest yet, I refer it unto God, which is a just Judge; and I beseech God, if it be his pleasure, that that which is but my personal wrong be not laid to thy charge in the latter day—this only can I pray for.

O thou now wicked and bloody see, why dost thou set up again many altars of idolatry, which by the word of God were justly taken away? Oh why hast thou overthrown the Lord's table? Why dost thou daily delude the people, masking in thy masses, in the stead of the Lord's holy supper, which ought to be common as well (saith Chrysostom, yea, the Lord himself,) to the people as to the priest? How darest thou deny to the people of Christ, contrary to his express commandment in the gospel, his holy cup? Why babblest thou to the people the common prayer in a strange tongue? wherein St Paul commandeth, in the Lord's name, that no man should speak before the congregation, except it should be by and by declared in their common tongue, that all might be edified. Nay, hearken, thou whorish bawd of Babylon, thou wicked limb of antichrist, thou bloody wolf; why slayest thou down and makest havoc of the prophets of God? Why murderest thou so cruelly Christ's poor seely[1] sheep, which will not hear thy voice because thou art a stranger, and will follow none other but their own pastor Christ his voice? Thinkest thou to escape, or that the Lord will not require the blood of his saints at thy hands? Thy god, which is the work of thy hands, and whom thou sayest thou hast power to make—that thy deaf and dumb[1] god (I say) will not indeed nor cannot (although thou art not ashamed to call him thy Maker,) make thee to escape the revenging hand of the high and Almighty God. But be thou assured, that the living Lord our Saviour and Redeemer, which sitteth now on the right hand of his Father in glory—he seeth all thy wicked ways and cruelty done to his dear members, and he will not forget his holy ones; and his hands shalt thou never escape. Instead of my farewell to thee, now I say, Fie upon thee, fie upon thee, filthy drab, and all thy false prophets!

[1] simple.

[1] The consecrated wafer. Ed.]

Yet, O thou London, I may not leave thee thus. Although thy episcopal see, now being joined in league with the seat of Satan, thus hath now both handled me and the saints of God, yet I do not doubt but in that great city there be many privy mourners which do daily mourn for that mischief; the which never did, nor shall, consent to that wickedness, but do detest and abhor it as the ways of Satan. But these privy mourners here I will pass by, and bid them farewell with their fellows hereafter, when the place and occasion shall more conveniently require. Among the worshipful of the city, and specially which were in office of the mayoralty, (yea, and in other citizens also whom to name now it shall not be necessary,) in the time of my ministry, which was from the latter part of Sir Rowland[1] Hill's year unto Sir George Barnes's year and a great part thereof, I do acknowledge that I found no small humanity and gentleness, as methought: but (to say the truth) that I do esteem above all other for true Christian kindness, which is shewed in God's cause and done for his sake. Wherefore, O Dobbes, Dobbes, alderman and knight, thou in thy year didst win my heart for evermore, for that honourable act, that most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals and truly religious houses, which by thee and through thee were begun. For thou, like a man of God, when the matter was moved for the relief of Christ's poor seely members, to be holpen from extreme misery, hunger, and famine, thy heart (I say) was moved with pity: and as Christ's high honourable officer in that cause, thou calledst together thy brethren, the aldermen of the city, before whom thou brakest the matter for the poor, thou didst plead their cause, yea, and not only in thine own person thou didst set forth Christ's cause, but to further the matter, thou broughtest me into the council chamber of the city, before the aldermen alone, whom thou hadst assembled there together to hear me speak what I could say, as an advocate by office and duty in the poor men's cause. The Lord wrought with thee, and gave thee the consent of thy brethren, whereby the matter was brought

His farewell to these mourners is in the letter next following. M. C.

[1] Sir Rowland Hill was Lord Mayor, A.D. 1549-50, and Sir Geo. Barnes, A.D. 1552-53. Maitland's *History of London*. ED.]

to the common council, and so to the whole body of the city, by whom with an uniform consent it was committed to be drawn, ordered, and devised by a certain number of the most witty citizens and politic, endued also with godliness and with ready hearts to set forward such a noble act, as could be chosen in all the whole city: and they, like true and faithful ministers both to their city and their master Christ, so ordered, devised, and brought forth the matter, that thousands of seely poor members of Christ, which else from extreme hunger and misery should have famished and perished, shall be relieved, holpen and brought up, and shall have cause to bless the aldermen of that time, the common council, and the whole body of the city, but specially thee, O Dobbes[2], and those chosen men by whom this honourable work of God was begun and wrought; and that, so long through all ages as that godly work shall endure, which I pray Almighty God may be ever unto the world's end. Amen.

And thou, O Sir George Barnes, (the truth it is to be confessed to God's glory and to the good example of other,) thou wast in thy year not only a furtherer and continuer of that which, before thee, by thy predecessor was well begun, but also didst labour so to have perfected the work, that it should have been an absolute[m] thing, and a perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom. Thine endeavour was to have set up an house of occupations: both that all kind of poverty, being able to work, should not have lacked whereupon profitably they might have been occupied to their own relief, and to the profit and commodity of the commonwealth of the city; and also to have retired thither the poor babes brought up in the hospitals, when they had come to a certain age and strength, and also all those which in the hospitals aforesaid had been cured of their diseases. And to have brought this to pass, thou obtainedst (not without great diligence and labour both of thee

[m] complete.

[2] Sir Richard Dobbs was Lord Mayor, A.D. 1551-52. He was very active in promoting the foundation of Christ's Hospital, also of those of Bethlehem, and St Bartholomew, and Bridewell. These were all established by Royal Charter a few weeks before the death of the king. Maitland's *History of London*. ED.]

and thy brethren,) of that godly king Edward, that Christian and peerless prince's hand, his princely place of Bridewell; and what other things to the performance of the same, and under what condition, is not unknown. That this thine endeavour hath not had like success, the fault is not in thee, but in the condition and state of the time; which the Lord of his infinite mercy vouchsafe to amend, when it shall be his gracious will and pleasure.

Farewell now, all ye citizens that be of God, of what state and condition soever you be! Undoubtedly, in London you have heard God's word truly preached. My heart's desire and daily prayer shall be for you, (as for whom, for my time, I know to my Lord God I am accountable) that ye never swerve, neither for loss of life nor worldly goods, from God's holy word, and yield unto antichrist; whereupon must needs follow the extreme displeasure of God, and the loss both of your bodies and souls into perpetual damnation for evermore.

Now that I have gone through the places, where I have dwelt any space in the time of my pilgrimage here upon earth, remembering that for the space of king Edward's reign, which was for the time of mine office in the sees of London and Rochester, I was a member of the higher house of the parliament; therefore, (seeing my God hath given me leisure and the remembrance thereof,) I will bid my lords of the temporalty farewell. They shall have no just cause (by God's grace) to take it, that I intend to say, in ill part. As for the spiritual prelacy that now is, I have nothing to say to them, except I should repeat again a great part of that I have said before now already to the see of London. To you therefore, my lords of the temporalty, will I speak: and this would I have you first to understand, that when I wrote this, I looked daily when I should be called to the change of this life, and thought that this my writing should not come to your knowledge, before the time of the dissolution of my body and soul should be expired. And therefore know ye, that I had before mine eyes only the fear of God and Christian charity towards you, which moved me to write: for of you hereafter I look not, in this world, either for pleasure or displeasure. If my talk shall

do you never so much pleasure or profit, you cannot promote me; nor if I displease you, you cannot hurt or harm me, for I shall be out of your reach. Now therefore, if you fear God, and can be content to hear the talk of him that seeketh nothing at your hands, but to serve God and to do you good, hearken to what I say.

I say unto you, as St Paul saith unto the Galatians, I wonder (my lords) what hath bewitched you, that ye so suddenly are fallen from Christ unto antichrist, from Christ's gospel unto men's traditions, from the Lord that bought you unto the bishop now of Rome. Gal. iii.

I warn you of your peril; be not deceived; except you will be found willingly consenters to your own death. For if ye think thus—We are laymen; this is a matter of religion; we follow as we are taught and led; if our teachers and governors teach us and lead us amiss, the fault is in them, they shall bear the blame: my lords, this is true (I grant you) that both the false teacher, and the corrupt governor, shall be punished for the death of their subject whom they have falsely taught and corruptly led, yea, and his blood shall be required at their hands: but yet nevertheless shall that subject die the death himself also, that is, he shall also be damned for his own sin; for if the blind lead the blind, Christ saith, not the leader only, but (he saith) both shall fall in the ditch. Shall the synagogue and the senate of the Jews, trow ye, which forsook Christ and consented to his death, therefore be excused, because Annas and Caiaphas, with the scribes and pharisees and their clergy, did teach them amiss? (yea, and also Pilate, their governor and the emperor's lieutenant, by his tyranny did without cause put him to death.) Forsooth no, my lords, no: for notwithstanding that corrupt doctrine, or Pilate's washing of his hands, neither of both shall excuse either that synagogue and seigniory, or Pilate; but at the Lord's hand, for the effusion of that innocent's blood, on the latter day all shall drink of the deadly whip—ye are witty, and understand what I mean[1]. Therefore I will pass over this, and return to tell you how ye are fallen from Christ, to his adversary the bishop of Rome. Ezek. iii. Luke vi.

[1 There seems here to be some allusion to contemporaneous transactions, the meaning of which is now lost. Ed.]

And lest, my lords, ye may peradventure think, thus barely to call the bishop of Rome Christ's adversary, or (to speak it in plain terms) to call him antichrist, that it is done in mine anguish, and that I do but rage, and as a desperate man do not care what I say, or upon whom I do rail: therefore, that your lordships may perceive my mind, and thereby understand that "I speak the words of truth and of sobriety" (as St Paul said unto Festus), be it known unto your lordships all, that as concerning the bishop of Rome, I neither hate the person nor the place.

Acts xxvi.

For I ensure your lordships (the living Lord beareth me witness, before whom I speak), I do think many a good holy man, many martyrs and saints of God, have sat and taught in that place Christ's gospel truly; which therefore justly may be called *Apostolici*, that is, true disciples of the Apostles, and also that church and congregation of Christians an apostolic church, yea and that, certain hundred years after the same was first erected and builded upon Christ, by the true apostolical doctrine taught by the mouths of the Apostles themselves.

If ye will know how long that was, and how many hundred of years, to be curious in pointing the precise number of years I will not be too bold: but thus I say; so long and so many hundred years as that see did truly teach and preach that gospel, that religion, exercised that power, and ordered every thing by those laws and rules, which that see received of the Apostles, and (as Tertullian saith) the Apostles of Christ, and Christ of God; so long (I say) that see might well have been called Peter and Paul's chair and see, or rather Christ's chair, and the bishop thereof Apostolicus, or a true disciple and successor of the Apostles, and a minister of Christ. But since the time that that see hath degenerated from the trade of truth and true religion, the which it received of the Apostles at the beginning; and hath preached another gospel, hath set up another religion, hath exercised another power, and hath taken upon it to order and rule the church of Christ by other strange laws, canons and rules, than ever it received of the Apostles, or the Apostles of Christ, which things it doth at this day and hath continued so doing (alas, alas!) of too too long a time

—since the time (I say) that the state and condition of that see hath thus been changed in truth, it ought, of duty and of right, to have the names changed, both of the see and of the sitter therein. For understand, my lords: it was neither for the privilege of the place or person thereof, that that see and bishop thereof were called Apostolic; but for the true trade of Christ's religion, which was taught and maintained in that see at the first, and of those godly men. And therefore as truly and justly as that see then, for that true trade of religion and consanguinity of doctrine with the religion and doctrine of Christ's Apostles, was called apostolic; so as truly and as justly, for the contrariety of religion and diversity of doctrine from Christ and his Apostles, that see and the bishop thereof at this day both ought to be called, and are indeed, antichristian.

The see is the seat of Satan; and the bishop of the same, that maintaineth the abominations thereof, is antichrist himself indeed. And for the same causes this see at this day is the same which St John calleth in his Revelation Babylon, Apoc. xvii. or the whore of Babylon, and spiritually Sodoma and Egyptus, Apoc. xi. the mother of fornications and of the abominations upon the earth. And with this whore doth spiritually mell[n], and [n] meddle. lieth with her and committeth most stinking and abominable adultery before God, all those kings and princes, yea, and all nations of the earth, which do consent to her abominations, and use or practise the same; that is (of the innumerable multitude of them to rehearse some for example sake) her dispensations, her pardons and pilgrimages, her invocation of saints, her worshipping of images, her false counterfeit religion in her monkery and friarage, and her traditions, whereby God's laws are defiled; as her massing, and false ministering of God's word and the sacraments of Christ, clean contrary to God's word and the Apostles' doctrine, whereof in particularity I have touched something before in my talk had with the see of London, and in other treatises more at large: wherein (if it shall please God to bring the same to light,) it shall appear I trust by God's grace plainly to the man of God, and to him whose rule in judgment of religion is God's word, that that religion, that rule and order, that doctrine and faith, which this whore

Apoc. xvii. of Babylon and the beast whereupon she doth sit maintaineth at this day with all violence of fire and sword, with Daniel vii. spoil and banishment (according to Daniel's prophecy), and finally with all falsehood, deceit, hypocrisy, and all kind of ungodliness—are as clean contrary to God's word as darkness is unto light, or light to darkness, white to black, or black to white, or as Belial unto Christ, or Christ unto antichrist himself.

I know, my lords, and foresaw when I wrote this, that so many of you as should see this my writing, not being before endued with the Spirit of grace and the light of God's word, so many (I say) would at these my words lordlike stamp and spurn, and spit thereat. But sober yourselves with patience, and be still; and know ye that in my writing of this, my mind was none other but in God (as the living God doth bear me witness,) both to do you profit and pleasure. And otherwise, as for your displeasure, by that time this shall come to your knowledge, I trust by God's grace to be in the hands and protection of the Almighty, my heavenly Father and the living Lord, which is (as St John saith) the greatest of all; and then I shall not need (I trow) to fear what any lord, no nor what king or prince, can do unto me.

My lords, if in times past ye have been contented to hear me sometimes in matters of religion before the prince in the pulpit, and in the parliament house, and have not seemed to have despised what I have said; when as else, if ye had perceived just occasion, ye might then have suspected in my talk, though it had been reasonable, either desire of worldly gain or fear of displeasure: how hath then your lordships more cause to hearken to my word, and to hear me patiently, seeing now ye cannot justly think of me (being in this case, appointed to die, and looking daily when I shall be called to come before the eternal Judge,) otherwise but that I only study to serve my Lord God, and to say that thing which I am persuaded assuredly by God's word shall and doth please him, and profit all them to whom God shall give grace to hear and believe what I do say! And I do say even that I have said heretofore, both of the see of Rome, and of the bishop thereof—I mean after this their present state at this day. Wherein if ye will not believe the ministers of God, and true

preachers of his word, verily I denounce unto you *in verbo Domini*, Except ye do repent betime, it shall turn to your confusion and to your smart on the latter day. Forget not what I say, my lords, for God's sake forget not, "but remember it upon your bed." For I tell you moreover, as I know I must be countable of this my talk, and of my speaking thus, to the eternal Judge, who will judge nothing amiss, so shall you be countable of your duty in hearing; and you shall be charged, if ye will hearken to God's word, for not obeying to the truth. Psalm iv.

Alas, my lords, how chanceth this, that this matter is now anew again to be persuaded unto you? Who would have thought of late, but your lordships had been persuaded indeed sufficiently, or else that ye could ever have agreed so uniformly with one consent to the abolishment of the usurpation of the bishop of Rome? If that matter were then but a matter of policy, wherein the prince must be obeyed, how is it now made a matter wherein (as your clergy saith now, and so say the pope's laws indeed) standeth the unity of the catholic church, and a matter of necessity of our salvation? Hath the time, being so short since the death of the two last kings, Henry VIII. and Edward his son, altered the nature of the matter? If it have not, but was of the same nature and danger before God then as it is now, and be now (as it is said by the pope's laws, and the instructions set forth in English to the curates of the diocese of York,) indeed a matter of necessity to salvation, how then chanced it that ye were all, O my lords, so light and so little passed upon[o] the catholic faith and the unity thereof (without the which no man can be saved), as for your princes' pleasures, which were but mortal men, to forsake the unity of your catholic faith, that is, to forsake Christ and his holy gospel? And furthermore, if it were both then and now so necessary to salvation, how chanced it also, that ye, all the whole body of the parliament agreeing with you, did not only abolish and expel the bishop of Rome, but also did abjure him in your own persons, and did decree in your acts great oaths to be taken of both the spiritualty and temporalty, whosoever should enter into any weighty and chargeable office in the commonwealth? But on the other side, if that law and

[o] concerned for.

decree, which maketh the supremacy of the see and bishop of Rome over the universal church of Christ a thing of necessity required unto salvation, be an anti-christian law (as it is indeed), and such instructions as are given to the diocese of York be indeed a setting forth of the power of that beast of Babylon by the craft and falsehood of his false prophets (as of truth, compared unto God's word, and truly judged by the same, it shall plainly appear that they be), then, my lords, never think other but the day shall come, when ye shall be charged with this your undoing of that that once ye had well done, and with this your perjury and breach of your oath, which oath was done in "judgment, justice, and truth, agreeable to God's law."

Jer. iv.

The whore of Babylon may well for a time dally with you, and make you so drunk with the wine of her filthy stews and whoredom (as with her dispensations and promises of pardon *a pœna et culpa*), that for drunkenness and blindness ye may think yourselves safe. But be ye assured, when the living Lord shall try the matter by the fire, and judge it according to his word, when all her abominations shall appear what they be, then ye, my lords, (I give your lordships warning in time, repent if ye be happy, and love your own soul's health, repent, I say, or else without all doubt ye shall never escape the hands of the living Lord for the guilt of your perjury and the breach of your oath;) as ye have banqueted and lain by the whore in the fornication of her whorish dispensations, pardons, idolatry, and such like abominations; so shall ye drink with her (except ye repent betime) of the cup of the Lord's indignation and everlasting wrath, which is prepared for the beast, his false prophets, and all their partakers. For he that is partner with them in their whoredom and abominations, must also be partner with them of their plagues, and on the latter day shall be thrown with them into the lake burning with brimstone and unquenchable fire. Thus fare ye well, my lords all. I pray God give you understanding of his blessed will and pleasure, and make you to believe and embrace the truth. Amen.

LETTER XXXIII. (COVERDALE.)

Another Farewell, to the Prisoners in Christ's Gospel's cause, and to all them which for the same cause are exiled and banished out from their own country, choosing rather to leave all worldly commodity, than their master Christ.

FAREWELL, my dearly beloved brethren in Christ; both ye my fellow-prisoners, and ye also that be exiled and banished out of your countries, because ye will rather forsake all worldly commodity than the gospel of Christ.

Farewell, all ye together in Christ, farewell and be merry, for ye know that the trial of your faith bringeth forth patience, and patience shall make us perfect, whole and sound on every side; and such after trial, ye know, shall receive the crown of life, according to the promise of the Lord made to his dearly beloved: let us therefore be patient unto the coming of the Lord. As the husbandman abideth patiently James v.
the former and latter rain for the increase of his crop, so let us be patient and pluck up our hearts, for the coming of the Lord approacheth apace. Let us, my dear brethren, take example of patience in tribulation of the prophets, which spake likewise God's word truly in his name. Let Job be to us an example of patience, and the end which the Lord suffered, which is full of mercy and pity. We 1 Pet. i
know, my brethren, by God's word, that our faith is much more precious than any corruptible gold, and yet that is tried by the fire: even so our faith is therefore tried likewise in tribulations, that it may be found, when the Lord shall appear, laudable, glorious and honourable. "For if 1 Pet. ii.
we for Christ's cause do suffer, that is grateful before God; for thereunto are we called, that is our state and vocation, wherewith let us be content." Christ, we know, suffered for us afflictions, leaving us an example that we should follow his footsteps: for he committed no sin, nor was there any guile found in his mouth; when he was railed upon, and also reviled, he railed not again; when he was evil entreated, he did not threaten, but committed the punishment thereof to him that judgeth aright.

Let us ever have in fresh remembrance those wonderful comfortable sentences spoken by the mouth of our Saviour

Matt. v. Christ: "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed are ye when men revile you, persecute you, and speak all evil against you for my sake; rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven, for so did they persecute the prophets which were before you." Therefore let us alway bear this in our minds, that if any incommodity do chance unto us for righteousness' sake, happy are we, whatsoever the world doth think of us. Christ our master hath told us before-
Luke xxi. hand, "that the brother should put the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children should rise against their parents and kill them, and that Christ's true Apostles should be hated of all men for his name's sake; but he that shall abide patiently unto the end shall be saved." Let us then endure in all troubles patiently, after the example of our master Christ, and be contented therewith; for he suffered being our Master and Lord, how doth it not
Luke vi. then become us to suffer? "For the disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his lord." It may suffice the disciple to be as his master, and the servant to be as
Matt. x. his lord. "If they have called the father of the family, the master of the household, Beelzebub, how much more shall they call so them of his household? Fear them not then," saith our Saviour, "for all privities shall be made plain: there is now nothing secret, but it shall be shewed in light."

Of Christ's words let us neither be ashamed nor afraid to speak them; for so Christ our master commandeth us, saying, "That I tell you privily, speak openly abroad, and that I tell you in your ear, preach it upon the house top. And fear not them which kill the body, for the soul they cannot kill: but fear him which can cast both body and soul into hell-fire." Know ye that the heavenly Father hath ever a gracious eye and respect towards you, and a fatherly providence for you, so that without his knowledge and permission nothing can do you harm. Let us therefore cast all our care upon him, and he shall provide that
Matt. x. which shall be best for us. "For if of two small sparrows, which both are sold for a mite, one of them lighteth not on the ground without your Father, and all the hairs of our

head are numbered, fear not then," saith our master Christ, "for ye are more worth than many small sparrows." And let us not stick to confess our master Christ for fear of danger, whatsoever it shall be; remembering the promise that Christ maketh, saying, "Whosoever shall confess me before men, him shall I confess before my Father which is in heaven: but whosoever shall deny me, him shall I likewise deny before my Father which is in heaven."

Christ came not to give unto us here a carnal amity and a worldly peace, or to knit his unto the world in ease and peace, but rather to separate and divide them from the world, and to join them unto himself; in whose cause we must, if we will be his, forsake father and mother, and stick unto him. If we forsake him or shrink from him for trouble or death's sake, which he calleth his cross, he will none of us, we cannot be his. If for his cause we shall lose our temporal lives here, we shall find them again and enjoy them for evermore; but if in his cause we will not be contented to leave nor lose them here, then shall we lose them so that we shall never find them again, but in everlasting death.

What though our troubles here be painful for the time, and the sting of death bitter and unpleasant? yet we know that they shall not last in comparison of eternity, no not the twinkling of an eye; and that they, patiently taken in Christ's cause, shall procure and get us unmeasurable heaps of heavenly glory, unto the which these temporal pains of death and troubles compared, are not to be esteemed, but to be rejoiced upon. "Wonder not," saith St Peter, "as though it were any strange matter that ye are tried by the fire (he meaneth, of tribulation), which thing, saith he, is done to prove you. Nay rather, in that ye are partners of Christ's afflictions, rejoice, that in his glorious revelation ye may rejoice with merry hearts. If ye suffer rebukes in Christ's name, happy are ye, for the glory and spirit of God resteth upon you. Of them God is reviled and dishonoured, but of you he is glorified. Let no man be ashamed of that he suffereth as a Christian, and in Christ's cause: for now is the time that judgment and correction must begin at the house of God; and if it begin first at us, what shall be

2 Cor. iv.

1 Pet. iv.

the end of those, think ye, which believe not the gospel? And if the righteous shall be hardly saved, the wicked and the sinner, where shall he appear? Wherefore they which are afflicted according to the will of God, let them lay down and commit their souls to him by well-doing, as to a trusty and faithful Maker."

This (as I said) may not seem strange to us, for we know that all the whole fraternity of Christ's congregation in this world is served with the like, and by the same is made perfect. For the fervent love that the Apostles had unto their master Christ, and for the great commodities and increase of all godliness which they felt (by their faith) to ensue of afflictions in Christ's cause, and thirdly, for the heaps of heavenly joys which the same do get unto the godly, which shall endure in heaven for evermore, for these causes (I say) the Apostles of their afflictions did joy, and rejoiced in that they were had and accounted worthy to suffer contumelies and rebukes for Christ's name. And Paul, as he gloried in the grace and favour of God, whereunto he was brought and stood in by faith; so he rejoiced in his afflictions for the heavenly and spiritual profits, which he numbereth to rise upon them: yea, he was so far in love with that that the carnal man loathed so much, that is, with Christ's cross, that he judged himself to know nothing else but Christ crucified; "he will glory (he saith), in nothing else but in Christ's cross:" yea, and he blesseth all those, as the only true Israelites and elect people of God, with peace and mercy, which walketh after that rule and after none other.

1 Cor. ii.

O Lord, what a wonderful spirit was that that made Paul, in setting forth of himself against the vanity of Satan's pseudo-apostles, and in his claim there that he in Christ's cause did excel and pass them all,—what a wonderful spirit was that (I say) that made him to reckon up all his troubles, his labours, his beatings, his whippings, his scourgings, his shipwrecks, his dangers and perils by water and by land, his famine, hunger, nakedness, and cold, with many more, and the daily care of all the congregations of Christ, among whom every man's pain did pierce his heart, and every man's grief was grievous unto him! O Lord, is this Paul's pri-

2 Cor. xi.

macy, whereof he thought so much good that he did excel other? Is not this Paul's saying unto Timothy, his own scholar, and doth it not pertain to whosoever will be Christ's true soldiers?—"Bear thou, (saith he) the afflictions like a good soldier of Jesus Christ. This is true: if we die with him, (he meaneth Christ,) we shall live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall reign with him; if we deny him, he shall deny us; if we be faithless, he remaineth faithful, he cannot deny himself." This Paul would have known to every body; for there is none other way to heaven, but Christ and his way, and "all that will live godly in Christ, shall (saith St Paul) suffer persecution." By this way went to heaven the patriarchs, the prophets, Christ our master, his Apostles, his martyrs, and all the godly since the beginning. 2 Tim. ii. 2 Tim. iii.

And as it hath been of old, "that he which was born after the flesh persecuted him which was born after the spirit," for so it was in Isaac's time; so, said St Paul, it was in his time also. And whether it be so or no now, let the spiritual man, the self-same man (I mean) that is endued with the Spirit of Almighty God, let him be judge. Of the cross of the patriarchs, as ye may read in their stories if ye read the book of Genesis, ye shall perceive. Of other, St Paul in few words comprehendeth much matter, speaking in a generality of the wonderful afflictions, deaths, and torments, which the men of God in God's cause and for the truth's sake willingly and gladly did suffer. After much particular rehearsal of many, he saith, "Others were racked, and despised, and would not be delivered, that they might obtain a better resurrection; other again were tried with mockings and scourgings, and moreover with bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, hewn asunder, tempted, fell and were slain upon the edge of the sword, some wandered to and fro in sheeps' pilches[a], in goats' pilches, forsaken, oppressed, afflicted, (such godly men as the world was unworthy of,) wandering in wildernesses, in mountains, in caves and in dens; and all these were commended for their faith." And yet they abide for us the servants of God, and for those their brethren which are to be slain as they were for the word of God's sake, that none be shut out, but that we may all go together to meet our master Christ in the Gal. iv. Heb. xi.

[a] skins, Lat. *pellis.*

air at his coming, and so to be in bliss with him in body and in soul for evermore.

Therefore, seeing we have so much occasion to suffer and to take afflictions for Christ's name's sake patiently, so many commodities thereby, so weighty causes, so many good examples, so great necessity, so sure promises of eternal life and heavenly joys of him that cannot lie, let us throw away whatsoever might let[b] us, all burden of sin, and all kind of carnality, and patiently and constantly let "us run for the best game in this race that is set before us; ever having our eyes upon Jesus Christ, the ringleader, captain, and prefecter of our faith; which, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, not passing upon[c] the ignominy and shame thereof, and is set now at the right hand of the throne of God. Consider this, that he suffered such strife of sinners against himself, that ye should not give over nor faint in your minds. As yet, brethren, we have not withstood unto death, fighting against sin."

[b] hinder.

Heb. xii.

[c] regarding.

Heb. xii.

"Let us never forget, dear brethren, for Christ's sake, that fatherly exhortation of the wise that speaketh unto us, as unto his children; the godly wisdom of God, saying thus, My son, despise not the correction of the Lord, nor fall not from him when thou art rebuked of him; for whom the Lord loveth, him doth he correct, and scourgeth every child whom he receiveth. What child is he whom the father doth not chasten? If ye be free from chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and no children. Seeing then, whereas we have had carnal parents which chastened us, we reverenced them, shall not we much more be subject unto our spiritual father, that we might live? And they for a little time taught us after their own mind; but this father teacheth us to our commodity, to give unto us his holiness. All chastisement for the present time appeareth not pleasant, but painful; but afterward it rendereth the fruit of righteousness on them which are exercised in it. Wherefore let us be of good cheer, good brethren, and let us pluck up our feeble members that were fallen, or began to faint, heart, hands, knees, and all the rest, and let us walk upright and straight, that no limping or halting bring us out of the way." Let us look, not upon the things that be present, but with the eyes

of our faith let us steadfastly behold the things that be everlasting in heaven, and so choose rather, in respect of that which is to come, with the chosen members of Christ to bear Christ's cross, than for this short lifetime to enjoy all the riches, honours, and pleasures of the broad world.

Why should we Christians fear death? Can death deprive us of Christ, which is all our comfort, our joy, and our life? Nay, forsooth. But contrary, death shall deliver us from this mortal body, which loadeth and beareth down the spirit, that it cannot so well perceive heavenly things; in the 2 Cor. v.
which so long as we dwell, we are absent from God.

Wherefore, understanding our state in that we be Christians, "that if our mortal body, which is our earthly house, 2 Cor. v.
were destroyed, we have a building, a house not made with hands, but everlasting in heaven, &c., therefore we are of good cheer, and know that when we are in the body, we are absent from God; for we walk by faith, and not by clear sight. Nevertheless we are bold, and had rather be absent from the body, and present with God. Wherefore we strive, whether we be present at home or absent abroad, that we may always please him."

And who that hath true faith in our Saviour Christ, whereby he knoweth somewhat truly what Christ our Saviour is, that he is the eternal Son of God, life, light, the wisdom of the Father, all goodness, all righteousness, and whatsoever is good that heart can desire, yea, infinite plenty of all these, above that that man's heart can either conceive or think, (for in him dwelleth the fulness of the Godhead corporally,) and also that he is given us of the Father, "and 1 Cor. i.
made of God to be our wisdom, our righteousness, our holiness, and our redemption;"—who (I say) is he, that believeth this indeed, that would not gladly be with his master Christ? Paul for this knowledge coveted to have been loosed from the body, and to have been with Christ, for that he counted Phil. i.
it much better for himself, and had rather to be loosed than to live. Therefore these words of Christ to the thief on the cross, that asked of him mercy, were full of comfort and solace: "This day thou shalt be with me in paradise." To Luke xxiii.
die in the defence of Christ's Gospel, it is our bounden duty to Christ, and also to our neighbour. To Christ, "for he Rom. ix.

died for us, and rose again, that he might be Lord over all."
1 John iii. And seeing he died for us, "we also (saith St John) should jeopard, yea give, our life for our brethren." And this kind of giving and losing is getting and winning indeed; for he that giveth or loseth his life thus, getteth and winneth
Apoc. xiv. it for evermore. "Blessed are they therefore, that die in the Lord;" and if they die in the Lord's cause, they are most happy of all.

Let us not then fear death, which can do us no harm, otherwise than for a moment to make the flesh to smart; for that our faith, which is surely fastened and fixed unto the word of God, telleth us that we shall be anon after death in peace, in the hands of God, in joy, in solace, and that from death we shall go straight unto life. For St John saith,
John xi. "He that liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." And
John v. in another, place "He shall depart from death unto life." And therefore this death of the Christian is not to be called death, but rather a gate or entrance into everlasting life. Therefore Paul calleth it but a dissolution and resolution;
2 Pet. i. 2 Cor. v. and both Peter and Paul, a putting off of this tabernacle or dwell-house, meaning thereby the mortal body, as wherein the soul or spirit doth dwell here in this world for a small time. Yea, this death may be called, to the Christian,
Acts iv. an end of all miseries. For so long as we live here, "we must pass through many tribulations, before we can enter into the kingdom of heaven." And now, after that death hath shot his bolt, all the Christian man's enemies have done what they can, and after that they have no more to
Luke xvi. do. What could hurt or harm poor "Lazarus, that lay at the rich man's gate"? his former penury and poverty, his miserable beggary, and horrible sores and sickness? For so soon as death had stricken him with his dart, so soon came the angels, and carried him straight up into Abraham's bosom. What lost he by death, who, from misery and pain, is set by the ministry of angels in a place both of joy and solace?

Farewell, dear brethren, farewell! and let us comfort our hearts in all troubles, and in death, with the word of God: for heaven and earth shall perish, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Farewell, Christ's dearly beloved spouse here wandering in this world, as in a strange land, far from thine own country, and compassed about on every hand with deadly enemies, which cease not to assault thee, ever seeking thy destruction!

Farewell, farewell, O ye the whole and universal congregation of the chosen of God, here living upon earth, the true church militant of Christ, the true mystical body of Christ, the very household and family of God, and the sacred temple of the Holy Ghost! Farewell.

Farewell, O thou little flock of the high heavenly pastor Christ! for to thee it hath pleased the heavenly Father to give an everlasting and eternal kingdom. Farewell. Luke xii.

Farewell, thou spiritual house of God, thou holy and royal priesthood, thou chosen generation, thou holy nation, thou won[d] spouse! Farewell, farewell! [d] purchased.

N. R.

LETTER XXXIV. (Coverdale.)

To the Queen's Majesty[1].

It may please your majesty, for Christ our Saviour's sake, in a matter of conscience, (and now not for myself, but for other poor men,) to vouchsafe to hear and understand this mine humble supplication. It is so, honourable princess, that in the time while I was in the ministry of the see of London, divers poor men, tenants thereof, have taken new leases of their tenantries and holdings, and some have renewed and changed their hold, and therefore have paid fines and sums of money, both to me, and also to the chapter of Paul's, for the confirmation of the same. Now I hear say, that the bishop which occupieth the same room now will not allow the aforesaid leases, which must redound to many poor men's utter ruin and decay. Wherefore, this is mine

Behold the cruel and unjust dealing of Bonner. He cannot deal justly and truly with men, which is untrue to God and a hater of all truth. M.C.

[1] On the day previous to his martyrdom, after he had been degraded by bishop Brookes, Ridley read this letter to the bishop, and requested him to forward the petition contained in it. This was refused, and Ridley then delivered it to his brother to be presented to the Queen: it was dated for the day following. Ed.]

humble supplication unto your honourable grace, that it may please the same, for Christ's sake, to be unto the aforesaid poor men their gracious patron and defender, either that they may enjoy their aforesaid leases and years renewed, (as, when their matter shall be heard with conscience, I suppose, both justice, conscience, and equity shall require; for that their leases shall be found, I trust, made without fraud or coven[a], either of their part or of mine; and also the old rents always reserved to the see, without any kind of damage thereof;) or if this will not be granted, then that it may please your gracious highness to command that the poor men may be restored to their former leases and years, and may have rendered to them again such sums of money, as they paid to me and to the chapter for their leases and years so now taken from them; which thing, concerning the fines paid to me, may be easily done, if it shall please your majesty to command some portion of those goods which I left in my house to be given unto them. I suppose that half of the value of my plate which I left in mine offices, and especially in an iron chest in my bed-chamber, will go nigh to restore all such fines received; the true sums and parcels whereof are not set in their leases; and therefore (if that way shall please your highness.) they must be known by such ways and means as your majesty by the advice of men of wisdom and conscience shall appoint. But yet, for Christ's sake, I crave and most humbly beseech your majesty, of your most gracious pity and mercy, that the former way may take place. I have also a poor sister, that came to me out of the north with three fatherless children for her relief, whom I married after to a servant of mine own house: she is put out of that which I did provide for them. I beseech your honourable grace, that her case may be mercifully considered: and that the rather, in contemplation that I never had of him which suffered indurance[b] at my entrance to the see of London, one penny of his moveable goods, for it was almost half-a-year after his deposition, afore I did enter in that place; yea, and also if any were left known to be his, he had licence to carry it away, or there for his use it did lie safe; and his officers do know, that I paid for the lead which I found there when I occupied any of it to the behoof of the church

[a] Collusion.

If to succour the widows and fatherless is pure and undefiled religion, as St James saith: then is Bonner and his religion filthy and abominable which doth such wrong to the widow and fatherless. M.C.

[b] Hardship.

or of the house. And moreover, I had not only no part of his moveable goods, but also (as his old receiver, and then mine, called Master Staunton, can testify,) I paid for him, towards his servants' common liveries and wages, after his deposition, fifty-three *li.* or fifty-five pounds, I cannot tell whether. In all these matters, I beseech your honourable majesty to hear the advice of men of conscience, and especially the archbishop now of York[1]; which, for that he was continually in my house a year and more before mine imprisonment, I suppose he is not altogether ignorant of some part of these things; and also his grace doth know my sister, for whose succour and some relief now unto your highness I make most humble suit.

Notwithstanding these godly and just requests no justice could be had until that now of late some of these shameful injuries by order of law have been redressed. M.C.

The 16th day of October, 1555.

N. R.

[1 Dr Heath. Ed.]

APPENDICES

I. Disputatio Habita Oxonii. 1555.

II. Articles jointly and severally ministered to Dr Ridley and Mr Latimer by the Pope's Deputy.

III. Letter of Dr Turner, Dean of Wells, to Fox, touching chiefly his knowledge of Ridley.

IV. Letter from Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, to Ridley.

V. Letter from Edward, Duke of Somerset, the Protector, to Ridley.

VI. Letter from Edward VI. to Ridley.

APPENDIX 1.

DISPUTATIO HABITA OXONII, 1554.

Reprinted from Fox, "*Rerum in Ecclesia Gestarum*," Basil, 1559, *and collated with a MS. in the collection of Archbishop Parker in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.*

[The Corpus MS. is a very imperfect sketch of the proceedings. It appears to have been taken from the first notes which Ridley made after the discussion, before he had time to arrange them at full length. Ed.]

[1]*Præfatio N. Ridlæi Episcopi Londinensis, in suam disputationem.*

Nunquam mihi contigit in universa vita mea videre aut audire quicquam vanius aut tumultuosius geri, quam hæc quæ nuper mecum habita est disputatio in scholis Oxoniensibus. Et profecto non arbitrabar inter nostrates potuisse reperiri alicujus literaturæ aliquos, gradu insigniori donatos, qui tam perfrictæ frontis essent, ut ejusmodi scenicis vanitatibus (quibus ea disputatio abundabat) indulgere æquo animo sustinuissent. Sorbonici clamores, quos olim vidi Parisiis, ubi Papismus maxime regnat, præ nostra hac thrasonica ostentatione speciem aliquam habere modestiæ merito videri possunt[2].

Nec mirum erat; quoniam qui aliorum moderatores ibi esse debuerunt, quique[3] aliis sese formam in agendo præbuissent, in verbo, in gravitate, &c. ut Paulus loquitur, ipsi sane omnium effusissime[4] aliis in[5] tumultuandum ad clamandum

[1] These words are omitted at the top of the MS., which, however, has the signature "D. Ridleye, Eps. Lond."

[2] Parker MS.—possint.

[3] Parker MS.—quique aliis esse sese formam præbuissent in agendo. [There appears to be a mark through the *esse*, probably meant for an erasure.]

[4] Parker MS.—perfusissime.

[5] Parker MS.—ad.

classicum cecinerunt. Unde manifestum est, Christiane lector, quod haudquaquam ab istis sincera aliqua veritas, sed prorsus vana mundi gloria et thrasonica victoria quærebatur. Cæterum ne ad innumera convicia, quibus ego inter disputandum totus conspuebar, causa nostra, quæ Dei est et ecclesiæ ipsius, mendosis etiam disputationis habitæ exemplaribus mundo traducatur, atque inde damnum aliquod ipsa veritas sustinere possit; visum est mihi meam literis commendare responsionem; ut quisquis ejus cognoscendæ cupidus est, simul et veritatis studiosus, scire ex his posset et quæ mihi maxime objecta fuerint[1], et in summa quid[2] a me singulis sit responsum. Quanquam sed tibi, amice lector, verissimum esse fateor, omnia omnium mihi, a tam multis et tam tumultuose objecta, et a me vicissim tot interdum simul opponentibus tam celeriter responsa ponere, esse omnino impossibile.

Ad hæc bona pars temporis in contumeliosissimis opprobriis, et plus quam theatricis exsibilationibus, applausionibus et triumphis ad captandum auram popularem populari sermone inaniter consumpta est. Quam rem cum ego ægerrime ferrem, ac publice deplorarem testarerque cœtum illum[3] eruditorum virorum ac scholas (quæ theologorum gravitati destinatæ esse[4] dicuntur) ejusmodi ineptiis et scenicis vanitatibus contaminari atque pollui, et actores suæ causæ vanitatem[5] per hæc ipsa palam prodere; dicendo nihil profeci, sed obloquentium exsibilationibus et vociferationibus, partim vero præsidentium auctoritate coactus sum ejus generis in me jactata audire convicia, qualia profecto viri graves non sustinuissent citra ruborem audire conjecta a turpissimo nebulone in vilissimum ganeonem.

In initio disputationis, cum meam responsionem ad primam propositionem[6] voluissem paucis, idque dialecticorum more, confirmare; priusquam primam probationem, quæ non

[1] Parker MS.—fuerant.

[2] Parker MS.—quod.

[3] Parker MS.—illorum.

[4] In the MS. this is confused. We have *essent* for esse, and a comma after it; then, *dicantur ejusmodi*, &c.

[5] Parker MS.—it stands thus, veritatem *vanitatem*, [the alteration standing above the original.]

[6] Parker MS.—argumentationem.

admodum prolixa est, potuissem absolvere, exclamant ipsi D.[7] doctores: Loquitur blasphemias, blasphemias, blasphemias. Quumque ego supplex atque obnixe precarer, uti perorantem audire dignarentur: qua mea supplicatione commotus (ut videbatur) D. prolocutor[8] inclamat ex alto, Legat, legat: et[9] ego quum rursus pergerem legere, tantus continuo obortus est clamor, Blasphemias, blasphemias, ut nullum me unquam meminerim audisse aut legisse similem, præter illum[10] in Actis Apostolorum excitatum[11] a Demetrio fabro argentario cum suis qui erant ejusdem artis, clamantibus[12] in Paulum, Magna Diana Ephesiorum, Magna Diana Ephesiorum; et præter disputationem quondam quam Ariani habebant contra orthodoxos in Africa[13], ubi dicitur, Quales præsides, talis erat et disputationis finis. Omnia erant plena tumultu et Arianorum calumniis, ut nihil quiete audiri potuisset. Hæc Victor in libro secundo suæ historiæ.

Atque ita invaluerunt istorum clamores et tumultuationes, ut ego, velim nolim, cogerer probationes meas, alioqui satis breves, inchoatas dimittere.

Testes habeo hujus veritatis omnes cordatiores qui intererant. Sed de his plura conqueri desinam: et nunc mihi curæ erit, argumenta mihi proposita, et meas vicissim ad argumenta illorum responsiones, quanta mea memoria diligentiori singularum circumstantiarum recordatione suggerere potuerit, summatim annotare.

[14]*Disputatio habita Oxoniæ inter D. Nicolaum episcopum Londinensem, et doctorem Smithum, cæterosque doctores Oxonienses.*

Vuestonus:—Viri Christi fideles, cœpta est hodie schola summi Dei, ut spero, auspicio. Cœpta controversia de se,

[7] Parker MS.—the D. is omitted.

[8] Parker MS.—proloquutor, [as it is likewise occasionally spelt in the printed copy.]

[9] Parker MS.—et ego cum rursus legerem.

[10] Parker MS.—qui.

[11] Parker MS.—excitatus est.

[12] Parker MS.—conclamantibus.

[13] Parker MS.—Carthagine.

[14] All that follows is wanting in the MS. till the title of the Disputation—"Disputatio habita," &c., p. 451.

controversia plane libera, de veritate scilicet corporis Domini nostri Jesu Christi in eucharistia. Christus verus est, qui dixit: vera sunt quæ dixit, imo veritas ipsa quæ dixit. Orandus est ergo Deus nobis, ut demittat Spiritum, qui sit ejus verbi certus interpres, qui abstrahat errores, qui doceat ut veritas elucescat. Oranda est Ecclesiæ venia, ut illius receptam veritatem absque illius præjudicio sinat hodie in quæstionem vocari. Vestræ autem partes erunt, Divini Numinis opem implorare; deinde reginæ bona omnia precari, nobis pacatas et tranquillas præbere aures.

Propositæ quæstiones.

Smithus:—Hodierno die, vir eruditissime, vocata sunt tria in quæstionem, minime certe inter Christianos controvertenda.

1. Nimirum, an Christi servatoris nostri corpus, conceptum ex Maria Virgine, oblatum in cruce pro redemptione hominum, sit reipsa aut realiter in eucharistia.

2. Secundum, an post consecrationem ulla remaneat substantia, præter substantiam Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Dei et hominis.

3. Tertium, an in missa sit vivificum sacrificium et oblatio, tum pro vivis quam pro defunctis, propitiabile.

Nunc, doctissime doctor, tametsi tu die Sabbathi, quid indicaveris et senseris de his quæstionibus, aperte et publice pronunciasti, tamen non contentus responsione tua, quam negative protulisti, non gravabor rursus aperte rogare sententiam tuam in prima quæstione: An verum Christi corpus post pronunciationem verborum Christi a sacerdote sit realiter in eucharistia, an tantum sit ibi secundum figuram? Expecto quid respondeas.

Præfatio et Protestatio Nicolai Ridlæi Episcopi Londinensis *habita* 17 *Aprilis in publicis scholis Oxoniæ.*

Accepi a vobis, ornatissime vir et domine Prolocutor, et vos viri venerabiles, domini Commissarii celsitudinis Reginæ et aliorum, superiore die tres propositiones, quibus jussistis me, ut in hanc diem pararem, quid illis respondendum censerem. Ego vero cum mecum considerarem, quanta cura gregis Dominici nuper mihi commissa esset, pro cujus administratione

olim (idque quam cito, Deus novit) rationem Domino meo sum redditurus; quodque Petri Apostoli præcepto paratus semper esse debeam ad respondendum cuilibet, ut loquar de ea quæ in nobis est spe cum animi mansuetudine et reverentia; ad hoc quid debeam ecclesiæ Christi, quidque vobis, qui estis hic commissarii cum auctoritate publica; statui mandatis vestris hac in parte obtemperare, et palam vobis patefacere, quid de propositis propositionibus sentiam. Et quanquam (ut ingenue vobis quod verum est fatear) aliter olim atque nunc de illis rebus, de quibus me interrogatis, sensi; nihilominus Deum testem invoco in animam meam, non mentior, quod ut mutarem animam, quodque in hanc in qua nunc sum devenirem sententiam, nullus me, ut id facerem, coegit aut legum humanarum aut periculorum hujus mundi metus, aut ulla spes vel expectatio mundanæ commoditatis; sed amor duntaxat veritatis, revelatæ mihi per Dei gratiam (ut mihi persuasum habeo) in verbo Dei et in antiquorum patrum orthodoxorum lectione.

Hæc ego nunc propterea magis commemoro, quoniam quis scit, si quod mihi olim contigit, alicui vestrum in posterum contingere poterit? hoc est, ut si quid aliter atque ego nunc de rebus propositis sentiatis, et hoc vobis Deus aliquando sit revelaturus. Sed utcunque fuerit, quod vos omnes nunc me facere velitis opinor, hoc ego jam breviter sum facturus: hoc est, sententiam animi mei, quam planissime potero, explicabo. In qua tamen sententia dicenda, id vobis testatum esse velim, me ex animo nihil esse dicturum scienter et prudenter, quod ulla in re crediderim posse vel tantillum repugnare aut dissentire a verbo Dei, aut a regulis fidei et Christianæ religionis, quas illud sacrosanctum Dei verbum ecclesiæ Christi præscribit, quibus me meaque omnia volo nunc et in perpetuum esse vel fore obnoxia.

Et quoniam gravis causa est quam agimus, et ad eam peragendam quam simus nunc inexpediti, temporis nimirum angustia et librorum inopia oppressi, vobis omnibus ignotum esse non potest: propterea protestor me hoc a vobis hodierno die publice postulaturum, nimirum ut in posterum liceat omnibus meis hodiernis responsionibus, explicationibus, et confirmationibus addere vel demere, quicquid in posterum saniore judicio, maturiore consultatione, aut exactiore sin-

gularum rerum expensione, magis commodum magisque opportunum esse videbitur. Aliquid etiam adferunt carceres molestiæ, quæ mentem meam nonnihil conturbarunt; neque enim is sum, ut liber sim ab omnibus hujusmodi affectibus.

Vuestonus:—Reverende doctor, quod ad penuriam librorum spectat, non est quod causeris; libri tibi exhibebuntur quoscunque postulaveris. Quod ad maturius judicium attinet, liberum erit usque in diem Dominicum addere responsionibus tuis, quod magis opportunum videbitur: nolo ut concisis utamur argumentis, ne videamur nectere arenas.

Ridlœus:—Est aliud, quod impretatum velim. Video hic scribas et notarios adhiberi: verisimile est, quod palam proferentur quæ dicemus: obsecro ut sit facultas loquendi libere; non quod constituerim tempus eximere dicendo, sed ne cui videatur non satis fieri: non sum orator, nec didici rhetoricam.

Vuestonus:—Licebit tibi eligere duos notarios ex hac tota multitudine.

Ridlœus:—Si essent hic mihi noti aliqui, eligerem.

Vuestonus:—Sunt hic duo, quos dominus Cranmerus heri elegit: ipsos, si placet, eligito.

Ridlœus:—Placent: puto esse viros bonos.

Hæc jam pauca præfatus et protestatus, confero me nunc ad propositarum propositionum responsionem, et responsionum mearum explicationes et confirmationes brevissimas.

Prima Propositio a Papistis proposita.

Forma autem conclusionum hæc erat.

In sacramento altaris, virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, præsens est realiter sub speciebus panis et vini naturale corpus Christi, conceptum de Virgine Maria, item naturalis ejusdem sanguis.

Responsio Ridlæi.

Respondeo, Non est humano aut seculi sensu in Dei rebus loquendum. Prima itaque propositio vel conclusio formata est phrasi a sacra scriptura aliena, et multis ambiguis obscuritatibus involuta et implicata. In sensu autem, quem docent scholastici, et hodierna Romanensis ecclesia defendit, falsa est, erronea, atque doctrinæ, quæ est secundum pietatem, plane contraria.

Explicatio.

Diversitas et novitas phraseos, et quam sit a scriptura aliena, in tota hac prima propositione et in singulis pene partibus ita patet et evidens est vel mediocriter versato in sacris literis, ut nihil necesse jam putem, in hoc cœtu doctorum virorum, in ea re demonstranda aliquid temporis (nisi id a me postea postulatum fuerit,) collocare.

Ambiguitas est in verbis, "virtute verbi divini." Ambiguum enim est, quod sit istud verbum divinum: illudne quod legitur in Evangelistis, aut in Paulo, aut aliquod aliud. Si quod in Evangelistis aut in Paulo, quodnam illud sit: si non ex illis, quomodo cognoscitur esse verbum divinum et tantæ virtutis, ut hanc tantam rem efficere valeat?

Item ambiguitur de verbo, "a sacerdote," an ullus dicendus sit sacerdos, nisi cui data sit potestas sacrificandi expiatorie pro vivis et mortuis; et unde patet hanc auctoritatem esse a Deo ulli mortalium, præterquam uni Christo, commissam?

Dubitatur etiam, secundum quem ordinem futurus sacrificans sacerdos sit; utrum secundum ordinem Aaron, an secundum ordinem Melchisedec. Nam plures ordines sacerdotii non probat, quod sciam, sacra scriptura.

Vuestonus:—Sufficiant ista.

Ridlæus:—Si desit tempus, sunt adhuc dies multi. Nec ego sum qui velim, quod non possum, abire.

Vuestonus:—Hæc sunt subterfugia: eludis tempus.

Ridlæus:—Non possum fugere. Captus sum, et vinctus.

Vuestonus:—Congredimini.

Smithus:—Sufficiant quæ dixisti.

Ridlæus:—Sine, quæso; non adeo multa sunt quæ sum dicturus.

Vuestonus:—Perge.

Ridlæus:—Item in verbo "realiter," ambiguum est an sumatur transcendenter, et sic potest hic signare quamcunque rem quæ ad corpus Christi quovis modo spectat; et sic concedimus, corpus Christi realiter esse in sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ; sicut inter disputandum, si detur occasio, a nobis declarabitur: vel rem ipsam corpoream, animatam, quæ assumpta est in unitatem personæ a Verbo Dei; secundum quam significationem, corpus Christi cum sit in cœlis realiter

propter verum corporis modum, hic in terris esse dicendus non est.

Item in verbis, "sub speciebus panis et vini," ambiguum est utrum species significare intelliguntur formas tantum accidentales et exteriores panis et vini, an naturas eorumdem substantiales, suis qualitatibus visibiles, et externis sensibus perceptibiles.

Falsitas autem propositionis in sensu Romanensis ecclesiæ et scholasticorum hinc patere potest. Illi enim ponunt panem transubstantiari in carnem assumptam a Verbo Dei: idque, ut aiunt, per virtutem ejus verbi, quod illi conceptis vocibus et syllabis formaverunt; quod in nullo reperiri potest Evangelistarum, aut in Paulo: atque inde colligunt, corpus Christi realiter contineri in sacramento altaris. Quæ positio, quoniam fundatur super fundamento transubstantiationis, (quod est fundamentum monstrosum, absurdum et analogiæ sacramentorum interemptivum;) idcirco et hæc prima propositio, quæ super hoc putre fundamentum et vanum superstruitur, falsa est, erronea, et infami sacramentariorum errori merito deputanda.

Vuestonus:—Teritur tempus.

Ridlæus:—Non deerit tempus: supersunt adhuc multi dies.

Vuestonus:—Perge ad argumenta: præscribetur tibi alius dies.

Ridlæus:—Nil habeo amplius, quod de explicatione dicam; si permiseritis, dicam paucis de confirmatione.

Vuestonus:—Perge.

Responsionis jam datæ confirmatio.

Ridlæus:—Non est statuendum dogma aliquod in ecclesia Dei, quod dissentiat a verbo Dei, et ab analogia fidei, et quod secum trahat multas absurditates. Sed dogma hoc primæ propositionis tale est: ergo non est statuendum in ecclesia Dei. Major patet, et minor probatur sic: Hoc dogma ponit realem, et corporalem, et carnalem carnis Christi a Verbo assumptæ in sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ præsentiam; idque non per virtutem et gratiam, quod et orthodoxi fatentur, sed per integram essentiam et substantiam corporis et carnis Christi. Sed talis præsentia dissentit a verbo Dei,

ab analogia fidei, et multas secum necessario trahit absurditates: ergo, etc. Major est manifesta, et minor adhuc probatur sic.

Vuestonus:—Tu bonas horas male perdis. Domine opponens, perge ad argumenta.

Smithus:—Disseremus de transubstantiatione, quam tu asseris contrariam esse analogiæ fidei. Contrarium probo ex scripturis et patribus. Sed antequam tecum congrediar, quæso an in sexto Johannis fiat mentio de sacramento, aut de reali præsentia corporis Christi in eucharistia?

Ridlæus:—Iniquum videtur esse, ut amputentur ea quæ eram dicturus: nec adeo multa sunt, paucis dicentur.

Vuestonus:—Legat.

Ridlæus:—Primo, Talis præsentia contraria est locis aliquot sacræ scripturæ. Secundo, Dissentit ab articulis fidei. Tertio, Evacuat et tollit institutionem Domini de sua cœna. Quarto, Prostituit preciosa prophanis; projicit enim quod sanctum est canibus, margaritas scilicet porcis. Quinto, Multa cogit monstrosa miracula præter necessitatem et auctoritatem verbi Dei ponere. Sexto, Ansam præbet hæreticis, qua suos errores tueantur, qui non recte de duabus in Christo naturis sentiebant. Septimo, Fidem veritatis humanæ in Christo minuit. Postremo, Falsificat dicta patrum orthodoxorum; falsificat et fidem ecclesiæ catholicam, quam Apostoli tradiderunt, martyres roboraverunt, et fideles, (ut quidam ex patribus ait,) usque nunc custodiunt. Ergo minor est vera.

PROBATIO ANTECEDENTIS HUJUS ARGUMENTI PER PARTES.

Talis præsentia contraria est verbo Dei, Johan. xvi. Veritatem dico vobis, expedit vobis ut ego vadam: si enim non abiero, Paracletus ad vos non venit. Act. iii. Quem oportet quidem cœlum accipere usque ad tempora restitutionis omnium, quæ loquutus est Deus. Matth. ix. Non possunt filii Sponsi lugere, quamdiu cum illis est Sponsus. Sed nunc est tempus luctus. Beati qui lugent, etc. Johan. xvi. Iterum videbo vos et gaudebit cor vestrum. Johan. xiv. Iterum veniam, et assumam vos ad meipsum. Matth. xxiv. Si dixerint vobis, Ecce hic Christus, aut illic, nolite credere: et ibidem: Ubicunque fuerit cadaver, ibi congregabuntur et aquilæ.

2. Dissentit ab articulis fidei: Ascendit ad cœlos, sedet ad dextram Dei Patris. Inde, et non aliunde, ut inquit Augustinus, venturus est ad judicandum vivos et mortuos.

3. Evacuat et tollit institutionem cœnæ Dominicæ, utpote quæ tantum jussa est tantisper continuari, donec ipse Dominus venerit. Si igitur nunc præsens est realiter in veritate corporis carnis, debet hæc cœna cessare. Commemoratio non est rei præsentis, sed præteritæ et absentis. Memoria autem et præsentia differunt. Atque frustra ibi ponitur figura, inquit ex patribus quidam, ubi res figurata præsens est.

4. Prostituit preciosa profanis, et multa cogit absurda fateri. Asserit enim adulteros et homicidas impœnitentes, imo (ut est quorundam apud istos opinio) impios et infideles, mures et canes, recipere corpus Domini nostri reale et corporale, in quo inhabitat plenitudo Spiritus, lucis, et gratiæ, contra manifesta verba, Johan. vi. in sex ibidem locis et sententiis. Statuit ἀνθρωποφαγίαν, id est, bestialem quandam crudelitatem. Crudelius est enim hominem vivum comedere, quam interimere.

Pius:—Petit tempus ut edat blasphemias. Mitte blasphemias.

Ridlæus:—Ego non expectabam a vobis hujusmodi contumelias.

Vuestonus:—Omnia pacata, omnia tranquilla; perge ad argumenta, Domine Doctor.

Ridlæus:—Restant non multa.

Vuestonus:—Impudentissimo ore profers blasphemias: perge ad argumenta: incipe.

Reliqua non legebantur, quod prolocutor properaret ad argumenta.

5. *Ridlæus:*—Cogit multa monstrosa miracula præter necessitatem et auctoritatem verbi Dei ponere. In adventu hujus præsentiæ corporis et carnis Christi substantiam panis extrudunt; ponunt autem accidentia sine subjecto, substituunt Christi corpus, sed sine suis qualitatibus et vero corporis modo. Si vero sacramentum tam diu servetur, ut mucescat, et vermes inde generentur, quidam dicunt substantiam panis miraculose redire: alii negant. Quidam corpus Christi dicunt in stomachum recipientis descendere, et ibi tam diu manere, donec species calore naturali consumantur: quidam in bonis manere dicunt, quamdiu ipsi permanent esse boni: quidam

tam cito corpus Christi in cœlum rapi dicunt, quam cito species dentibus teruntur. O mirabiliarios! Vere in istis impletum esse vereor quod prophetavit Paulus: Pro eo quod dilectionem veritatis non receperunt in hoc ut salvi fierent, mittet illis Deus efficaciam illusionis, ut credant mendacio, ut judicentur omnes qui non crediderunt veritati. Hæc præ- 2 Thess. ii.
sentia commentum illud concomitantiæ peperit, quæ sustulit hodie et abrogavit præceptum Domini de communicando poculo Domini laicis.

6. Ansam præbet hæreticis errandi, et suos errores defendendi; ut Marcioni, qui dixit Christum habere corpus phantasticum; et Eutychi, qui confudit impie duas in Christo naturas.

Postremo falsificat dicta patrum orthodoxorum et fidem ecclesiæ catholicam, quam Vigilius, martyr et auctor gravis, dicit esse traditam ab Apostolis, sanguine martyrum roboratum, et a fidelibus ad suam usque ætatem custoditam. Dicta patrum intelligo, Justini, Irenæi, Tertulliani, Origenis, Eusebii (Emisseni), Athanasii, Cyrilli, Epiphanii, Hieronymi, Chrysostomi, Augustini, Vigilii, Fulgentii, et Bertrami: quorum omnium atque aliorum quoque vetustissimorum patrum loca in hanc sententiam scio me legisse; et si esset librorum meorum mihi concessa copia, possem commonstrare, idque sub periculo capitis mei et amissionis omnium quæ in hoc mundo amittere possum.

Nolite putare, fratres, nos, quoniam hanc præsentiam corporis Christi, quam hæc prima propositio ponit, improbavimus, utpote quam censemus esse commentitiam, phantasticam, et præter autoritatem verbi Dei in ecclesiam a Romanensibus introductam, propterea velle tollere veram illam præsentiam corporis Christi in sua cœna, rite et legitime administrata, quæ est fundata in verbo Dei, et patrum orthodoxorum commentariis illustratur. Qui de me ita sentiunt, Deus novit quam multum illi hallucinentur: idque ut vobis planum manifestumque faciam, declarabo paucissimis, quam ego veram in verbo Dei et priscis patribus statuo in sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ corporis Christi præsentiam.

Cum Luca Evangelista et Paulo Apostolo dico, panem in quo gratiæ actæ sunt, esse corpus Christi ad memoriam ipsius et mortis ejus, usque ad adventum ejus, perpetuo a

fidelibus celebrandam. Dico item, panem quem frangimus, esse communicationem corporis Christi.

Cum orthodoxis patribus sic loquor et censeo, non solum significationem corporis Dominici fieri per sacramentum suæ cœnæ: sed una cum illo exhiberi quoque fateor piis et fidelibus gratiam corporis Christi, vitam scilicet atque æternitatis alimoniam: idque cum Cypriano. Manducamus vitam, bibimus vitam, cum Augustino: sentimus Dominum præsentem in gratia, cum Emisseno: recipimus cibum cœlestium, et superne venientem, cum Athanasio: proprietatem naturalis communionis cum Hilario: naturam carnis et benedictionem vivificativam in pane et vino, cum Cyrillo: et cum eodem, virtutem propriæ carnis Christi, vitam et gratiam corporis, unigeniti proprietatem, id est, ut Cyrillus ipse disertis verbis exponit, vitam. Fatemur nos recipere, cum Basilio, mysticum Christi adventum, gratiam veræ naturæ, atque veræ carnis sacramentum: cum Ambrosio, corpus per gratiam: cum Epiphanio, carnem spiritualem, sed aliam ab ea quæ crucifixa est: cum Hieronymo, gratiam influentem in sacrificium, et Spiritus gratiam: cum Chrysostomo, gratiam, veritatem invisibilem: gratiam et societatem membrorum corporis Christi, cum Augustino. Postremo cum Bertramo, qui horum fuit omnium postremus, fatemur, secundum id haberi in sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ corpus Christi, videlicet ut ipse exponit, quod sit in eo spiritus Christi: id est, Divini potentia verbi, quæ non solum animum pascit, verum etiam purgat. Ex his opinor omnibus dilucide patere potest, quam simus ab ea sententia alieni, qua nos falso quidam orbi traducere conantur, dicentes, nos nihil aliud docere quam figuram corporis Christi in mensa Dominica a piis et fidelibus recipiendam expectari oportere.

Propositio Secunda.

Post consecrationem non remanet substantia panis et vini, nec ulla alia substantia, nisi substantia Dei et hominis.

Responsio N. Ridlæi ad secundam propositionem.

Secunda conclusio est simplicitur falsa; verbo Dei, naturæ sacramenti, patrum orthodoxorum clarissimis dictis ex diametro contraria. Est putre fundamentum reliquarum duarum,

quæ nobis propositæ sunt, videlicet primæ et tertiæ conclusionum. Ad hanc igitur responsionem non morabor vos ulla explicatione, contentus scilicet ea quæ jam exposita est prius ad responsionem primæ propositionis.

RESPONSIONIS AD SECUNDAM PROPOSITIONEM CONFIRMATIO.

1. Constat ex verbo Dei, Christum panem dedisse discipulis, illumque suum corpus appellasse: sed substantia panis altera est a substantia Christi Dei et hominis. Ergo conclusio est falsa. Minor patet; et major probatur sic: Hoc dedit discipulis, appellavitque corpus suum, quod accepit, in quo gratias egit, quod fregit: sed accepit panem, super panem gratias egit, et fregit panem: ergo major vera. Et confirmatur auctoritatibus patrum Irenæi, Tertulliani, Origenis, Cypriani, Epiphanii, Hieronymi, Augustini, Theodoreti, Cyrilli, Rabani, Bedæ. Horum loca recipio me ostensurum clarissima, si modo concedatur (quod quidem peto) librorum copia.

2. Panis est corpus Christi, ergo est panis: a tertio adjacente ad secundum adjacens cum verbi substantivi pura copula. Sicut panis mensæ Dominicæ est corpus Christi naturale, ita est et corpus ejus mysticum: sed non est corpus Christi mysticum per transubstantiationem: ergo neque sic est corpus Christi naturale. Minor patet; et major probatur sic: Ut Christus, qui est veritas, dixit de pane, Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur, loquens ibi de corpore naturali; ita Paulus ab eodem Spiritu veritatis impulsus dixit: Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus, omnes qui de uno pane participamus.

3. Non magis credendus est panis transubstantiari in corpus Christi, quam vinum in sanguinem: sed vinum non transubstantiatur in sanguinem; ergo nec panis in corpus. Major est manifesta: probatur minor ex auctoritate verbi Dei et in Matthæo et in Marco: Non bibam ex hoc fructu vitis, et cætera. Fructus autem vinum est, quod Christus bibebat, et discipulis bibendum dedit. Huic sententiæ clarissime suffragatur Chrysostomi locus in Matthæo xxvi. suffragatur Cyprianus: affirmat sanguinem deesse, si desit vinum in calice.

4. Verba Christi Domini super poculum apud Lucam et Paulum sunt tam efficacia, quam quæ dicuntur super panem:

sed dicta super poculum non habent vim transubstantiandi: ergo, etc. Minor probatur, quia tunc transubstantiarent calicem, vel quod est in calice, in novum Testamentum. Sed neutrum hoc fieri potest, et absurdum est confiteri.

5. Ille sensus sacræ scripturæ (de sacramentis loquor) maxime deligendus est, quem maxime circumstantiæ scripturarum, analogia sacramentorum, et patrum dicta probant. Hæc maxime probant locutionem tropicam in verbis cœnæ Dominicæ: est ergo sensus tropicus in eisdem maxime recipiendus. Circumstantiæ scripturæ: Hoc facite in mei commemorationem: Quotiescunque comederitis panem hunc, et de poculo hoc biberitis, mortem Domini annunciabitis: Probet seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat, et de poculo bibat: Convenerunt ad frangendum panem, et perseverarunt in fractione panis: Panis quem frangimus etc. Quoniam unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus.

Analogia sacramentorum necessaria est. Nam si sacramenta aliquam similitudinem non haberent earum rerum quarum sunt sacramenta, omnino sacramenta non essent.

1. Similitudo hæc in sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ triplex est: Prima consistit in alitione. Vide Rabanum, Cyprianum, Augustinum, et Irenæum; et planissime Isidorum ex Bertramo.

2. Secunda in compositione multorum in unum: ex Cypriano.

3. Tertia est, dissimilium rerum similitudo, ubi sicut panis transit in corpus nostrum, ita nos per legitimum usum sacramenti per fidem transimus in corpus Christi.

Dicta patrum, quod sit tropica et figurativa locutio. Origenes, Tertullianus, Chrysostomus in opere imperfecto, Augustinus, Ambrosius, Basilius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Hilarius, et omnium clarissime Bertramus.

Contra transubstantiationem militant insuper omnium patrum dicta loca, quorum nomina supra recensuimus contra assertionem primæ propositionis. Sed omnium clarissime et evidentissime Irenæus, Origenes, Cyprianus, Chrysostomus ad Cæsarium monachum, Augustinus contra Adamantum, Gelasius, Cyrillus, Epiphanius, iterum Chrysostomus in Matthæum xx, Rabanus, Damascenus, Bertramus.

Hic vos, viri venerabiles, domine Prolocutor, et vos reliqui

commissarii, rogatos velim, uti dignemini cognoscere me non solum niti his solis, quæ hactenus scripsi in meis superioribus responsionibus et confirmationibus; sed habere quoque pro mea sententia confirmanda, quæcunque scripsit Bertramus, vir doctus et orthodoxus, quique usque in hanc nostram ætatem jam septingentis annis semper habitus est catholicus. Cujus tractatum quicunque legerit perpenderitque, considerans ætatem scriptoris, eruditionem, sanctimoniam, veterum allegationes et rationes illius multiplices et solidissimas, mirabor si quisquam timentium Deum possit ei in negotio eucharistiæ salva conscientia contradicere. Hic mihi primus aurem vulsit, et a pervulgato Romanensis ecclesiæ errore ad diligentiorem veterum ecclesiasticorum scriptorum hac in re investigationem primus ire coegit. Et hæc loquor coram Deo, qui scit me in his, quæ jam scribo, non mentiri.

Ridlæus per Bertramum in hanc sententiam adductus.

Tertia Propositio.

In missa est vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium, pro peccatis tam vivorum quam mortuorum propitiabile.

Responsio Nicolai Ridlæi ad tertiam propositionem.

Ad tertiam similiter, ut ad primam, respondeo; atque insuper dico, eam in sensu, quem verba videntur præ se ferre, non solum esse erroneam, sed in tantum quoque esse mortis et passionis Christi derogativam, ut non immerito (mea quidem sententia) impia et in preciosissimum sanguinem Christi Servatoris blasphema censeri et possit et debeat.

De missa Romanensi, quæ hodie extat, aut ejus vivifico sacrificio propitiabili pro peccatis vivorum et mortuorum, universa sacra scriptura ne gry quidem habet. Ambiguitas de missæ nomine quid significet, et an hodie ulla, qualis fuit veterum, vere habeatur, quum jam nulli aut catechumeni aut permanentes dimittantur.

Item in illis verbis, "Vivifico ecclesiæ sacrificio," ambigitur, an intelligantur tropice et sacramentaliter, pro vivifici sacrificii sacramento, quod in cœna Domini non negatur adesse; an proprie et citra omnem tropum, quo modo unicum tantum fuit, idque semel oblatum, videlicet in ara crucis.

Item in illis verbis, "tam, quam," ambiguum esse potest,

utrum in sensu dicatur ludicro, quo dici solet per jocum de prorsus inepto, quod sit aptus tam moribus quam scientia.

Et in verbo "propitiabile" dubitatur, an idem sit quod propitiatorium et expiatorium: an quod potest reddi propitium; hoc est, utrum active vel passive capiatur.

Falsitas autem in sensu scholasticorum et ecclesiæ Romanensis, atque impietas in sensu quem verba præ se ferre videntur, hæc est; quia illi innixi suo transubstantiationis fundamento, ponunt vinum et animatum corpus carnis Christi unitum Divinitati delitescere sub accidentibus panis et vini: quod est falsum, uti supra dictum est; et superstruentes super hoc fundamentum, dicunt etiam illud corpus offerri Deo a sacerdote in suis quotidianis missis ad expianda peccata vivorum et mortuorum.

Responsionis datæ confirmatio.

1. Ubi non adest sacerdos idoneus ad offerendum sacrificium propitiabile, ibi tale sacrificium offerri non potest: sed nullus est idoneus sacerdos præter Christum. Ergo tale sacrificium in quotidianis missis a sacerdotibus offerri non potest. Probatur minor: officium offerendi grandis est honor: sed nemo debet sumere sibi honorem, nisi qui vocatur a Deo. Nemo autem hic vocatus est præter unicum Christum Servatorem. Ergo nemo illud præter unicum Christum offerre potest. Quod nemo præter unicum Christum ad hunc gradum vocatus sit, hinc patet. Duplex est tantum ordo sacerdotii probatus in verbo Dei, secundum Aaron videlicet et secundum ordinem Melchisedec. Ordo Aaronis jam cessavit propter inutilitatem et imbecillitatem. At secundum ordinem Melchisedec unicus est tantum sacerdos Christus Dominus, sacerdotium habens ἀπαράβατον.

2. Cujus nulla est necessitas ut fiat, id frustra fit. Sed nulla est necessitas offerendi amplius sacrificium propitiatorium seu propitiabile pro vivis et mortuis: nam id Christus servator noster semel abunde perfecit et explevit. Ergo si in missa id fiat, frustra fit.

3. Postquam inventa est æterna redemptio, non opus est amplius quotidiana oblatione. At Christus accedens pontifex, etc., æternam nobis invenit redemptionem. Ergo non

amplius opus est quotidiana pro expiandis peccatis mortuorum et vivorum oblatione.

4. Absque sanguinis effusione non fit remissio. Sed in missa non est sanguinis effusio. Ergo in missa non fit remissio, et per consequens neque sacrificium propitiabile. Heb. ix.

5. In missa non est Christi passio in veritate, sed tantum signata mysterio, etiam ubi cœna Domini legitime peragitur: sed ubi Christus non est passus, ibi neque in veritate est oblatus. Ait enim Paulus: non ut sæpius semetipsum offerat, alioquin oportuisset illum sæpius passum fuisse a condito mundo. Ubi Christus non offertur, ibi non est sacrificium propitiabile. Nam Christus semel sub consummationem seculorum ad profligationem peccatorum per immolationem sui ipsius apparuit: et quatenus manet illud omnes homines, ut semel moriantur, post hoc autem judicium; ita et Christus semel oblatus est, ut multorum peccata tolleret, rursusque absque peccato conspicietur iis qui illum expectant in salutem.

6. Ubi est hostia, quæ potest accedentes perfectos reddere, ibi desinere debent homines amplius hostias offerre expiatorias. Sed sub novo testamento est unica hostia jampridem oblata, quæ potest perfectos in æternum reddere accedentes. Ergo in novo testamento desinendum est ab hostiis expiatoriis offerendis.

7. In eundem sensum et sententiam tendunt manifestissime loca scripturarum quæ sequuntur, unde et manifestissima inde argumenta formari possunt. Videlicet, per quam voluntatem (inquit Paulus) sanctificati sumus per oblationem corporus Jesu Christi semel peractam. Et ibidem: Hic vero una pro peccatis oblata victima, perpetuo sedet ad dexteram Dei, &c. unica enim oblatione perfectos effecit in perpetuum eos qui justificantur. Per semetipsum facta purgatione peccatorum: Hebr. primo. Obsecro, notate verbum "semetipsum": quod bene notatum procul dubio dirimit universam controversiam. Heb. x. Heb. i.

8. Hebr. x. negat Paulus ei qui sanguinem filii Dei, per quem fuit ipse sanctificatus, conculcaverit, reliquam esse hostiam. Non vult Christus iterum crucifigi, non vult mortem suam ludibrio exponi. Et ad Colossenses: Reconciliavit nos in corpore carnis suæ. Observate, obsecro, non dicit, in mys- Heb. x. Col. i.

terio corporis, sed in corpore carnis suæ. Et prima Johannis
1 Joh. ii. secundo: Si quis peccaverit, advocatum habemus, etc.

Scio hæc omnia scripturarum loca deludi a quibusdam duplici commento. Alterum est, per distinctionem de sacrificio cruento et incruento: quasi vero nostrum incruentum ecclesiæ sacrificium aliud esset quam laus et gratiarum actio; quam illus unici cruenti semel peracti commemoratio, annunciatio et sacramentalis repræsentatio, &c. Alterum commentum est: depravant orthodoxorum patrum dicta ad intellectum alienum, quem ipsi patres nunquam senserunt. Quid autem patres senserint, manifeste patet ex Augustino in epistola ad Bonifacium, et lib. lxiii. libro nono contra Faustum Manichæum, et in aliis locis quamplurimis; ex Eusebio (Emisseno), Cypriano, Chrysostomo, Theodoreto, Fulgentio, Bertramo, et aliis, quorum omnium procul dubio hæc est unanimis concorsque in Domino sententia, videlicet quod indefessa currit pro salute hominis redemptio perpetua, quæ semel facta est in veritate; quod hostia semel oblata consumi non potest; quod tam potens est Christi passio, tam crescens virtus et vigor illius semel effusi cruoris hodie ad ablutionem peccatorum, quam fuit illo eodem die, cum ex benedicto Christi servatoris latere effluxit. Quanquam omnis sacrificii nostri ratio, quod in cœna Dominica in ecclesia frequentatur, consistit in orationibus, laude et gratiarum actione, in recordatione et annunciatione illius semel in ara crucis oblati sacrificii, ut jugitur coleretur per mysterium, qui semel duntaxat et non amplius offerebatur in pretium.

Epilogus.

Hæc sunt, viri venerabiles, domine Prolocutor, et reliqui domini commissarii, quæ ad vestras tres mihi propositas propositiones respondere nunc potui in hac consiliorum inopia, et præsidio librorum destitutus: quamobrem provoco ad meam primam protestationem, cujus auxilium, quantum licet, postulo mihi non denegari. Et quoniam nuper a vobis sententia lata est in me multis nominibus injusta et iniqua; ego igitur, quatenus mihi licet, ab eadem appello ad æquiorem justioremque justi alicujus judicis superioris competentisque et legitimi censuram et judicium, idque juxta sta-

tum approbatum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ: licet quis is jam sit, propter mutationem reipublicæ, fateor me ignorare. Quale judicium si mihi in terris non datur habere, tunc tanquam ad sacram anchoram et unicum salutis meæ portum confugio ad sententiam æterni judicis: hoc est, omnipotentis Dei, cujus in suos misericordissimæ et justitiæ et justissimæ misericordiæ totaliter me meamque universam causam judicandam committo, nihil quicquam desperans de patrocinio advocati mei et unici servatoris nostri Jesu Christi. Cui cum Patre sempiterno, et Spiritu sancto omnium sanctificatore, sit nunc et in æternum omnis honor et gloria. Amen.

Disputatio[1] *habita Oxoniæ* XVII.[2] *Aprilis de reali præsentia corporis Christi in eucharistia. Anno* 1554.

Smithus[3]*:*—Dedisti mihi occasionem, ut jam exordiar ab alio capite, quam proposueram: visus es mihi abuti locis scripturarum de ascensione Christi, ut tollas præsentiam Christi in eucharistia. Ego vero contra tuam sententiam infringam: ascensio Christi nihil obstat præsentiæ reali corporis Christi in eucharistia. Ergo quum his locis inniteris, falleris.

Ridlæus:—Ego tibi visus sum argumentum fortissimum fecisse ab ascensione Christi in cœlos; sed tu male colligis: nec enim solum nititur ascensione, sed ascensione et permansione in cœlis.

Smithus[4]*:*—Ascensio Christi in cœlos, et permansio ibi, (1)[5]
obstant reali Christi præsentiæ in sacramento: ergo falleris.

Ridlæus:—Realis Christi præsentiæ duplex esse potest (2)
intellectus. Nam si intelligas realem Christi præsentiam secundum assumptæ carnis realem et corporalem substantiam,

[1] See p. 435.

[2] Instead of XVII. we have in the MS. z°, which stands for secundo in other places.

[3] This first speech with Ridley's answer is omitted in the MS., which begins with Smith's next observation, 'Ascensio Christi', &c.

[4] Parker MS.—Here the disputation begins, and the speech stands thus: Ascensio Christi in cœlos, et ejusdem ibidem perpetua sessio ad dexteram Patris, non obstant quicquid reali præsentiæ corporis Christi in sacramento altaris: ergo tu falleris.

[5] The numbers (1), (2), &c. down the margin indicate the speeches contained in the Parker MS.

ea præsentia quum[1] sit in cœlis, obstat quo minus simul possit esse in terris: sin intelligas realem præsentiam secundum rem aliquam quæ ad corpus Christi pertinet, ea sane non obstat, quare sic est corpus Christi hic nobis in cœna Dominica, per gratiam, ut Epiphanius loquitur[2].

Vuestonus:—Ego vobis præscindam ambiguitates: quoties loquimur de corpore Christi, loquimur de eo quod sumpsit de Virgine.

Ridlæus:—Hoc non potest consistere.

Smithus:—Non obstante ista ascensione et permansione in cœlis perpetua usque in diem judicii, Christus post ascensionem apparuit corporaliter et realiter in terra. Ergo non obstat ascensio, et permansio in cœlis, præsentiæ ejus in eucharistia reali.

Ridlæus:—Domine doctor, argumentum non valet. Non ita alligo Christum in cœlo, ut non possit libere venire in terras; nam quando libet, licet illi descendere, et in terris esse, quum velit: sed ut simul in cœlo sit et in terra, id dico non posse fieri.

Smithus:—Animadvertite diligenter, qui adestis, quid respondeat. Primo dicit, sessionem Christi ad dexteram Patris impedimento esse ejus corporis reali præsentiæ in eucharistia: deinde negat.

Ridlæus:—Nolo putes me fingere aut somniare talem sessionem, quali isti viri sedent.

Smithus:—Licet ergo, Christum esse præsentem hic in terris, quum voluerit?

Ridlæus:—Licet, quum voluerit.

Smithus:—Non pugnat ergo ascensio ejus in cœlos cum corporis ejus reali præsentia in eucharistia.

Ridlæus:—Permitto illi licere, ubi voluerit, in terris apparere. Proba velle.

Smithus:—Pendet itaque responsio tua ex voluntate Christi. Congrediar igitur rursus brevi argumento: Christus post suam

[1] Parker MS.—cum.

[2] Parker MS.—After this speech of Ridley's comes the following one of Smith:

(3) Christus perpetuo sedet ad dextram patris, et tamen quoque in terris ab ascensione sua visus est: ergo.

Then comes Ridley's answer, see p. 457. (4).

ascensionem, licet perpetuo maneat, illis visus est in terra realiter et corporaliter. Ergo non obstante ascensione et perpetua sessione ad dexteram Patris, potest esse realiter et corporaliter in eucharistia.

Ridlæus:—Si exciperem argumentum, quemadmodum tu protulisti, fortasse te ejus pudebit postea.

Smithus:—Christus post suam ascensionem, ut supra.

Ridlæus:—Concedo antecedens, nego consequens.

Smithus:—Concedis antecedens?

Ridlæus:—Concedo antecedens. Largior hoc tibi, quia scio quosdam patres fuisse in hac opinione. Dabo tibi usum hujus propositionis. Et ego formabo argumentum: visus est in terris post perpetuam sessionem in cœlis. Ergo, etc.

Smithus:—Imo ego formabo. Christus post ascensionem licet jugiter maneat in cœlis, visus est in terra realiter et corporaliter. Ergo non obstante ascensione et perpetua permansione ad dexteram Patris, potest esse realiter et corporaliter in terris.

Ridlæus:—Conveniat primum de perpetua sessione ad dexteram Patris.

Smithus:—An sic sedet ad dexteram Patris, ut non deserat eum unquam?

Ridlæus:—Non alligo ita Christum in cœlo. Video te fallere per æquivoca: multiplex est distinguendum. Si intelligas sedere in cœlo, regnare cum Patre, potest simul in cœlo esse et in terris. Sed si sedere intelligas juxta corporis modum, in cœlo semper manet. Nam ut corporaliter maneat in terris, cum corporaliter sit in cœlo, repugnat sacris Scripturis. Ut Augustinus: Corpus Christi est in cœlo, sed veritas ejus ubique diffusa est. Jam si perpetuo maneat in cœlo secundum corporalem præsentiam, ea permansio impedit præsentiam corporalem in eucharistia.

Smithus:—Actorum tertio docetur, quod sessurus sit Christus perpetuo ad dexteram Dei usque ad consummationem mundi.

Vuestonus:—Video hoc inter vos controverti, utrum corpus Christi possit esse simul in terris et in cœlo. Ego docebo, Christum secundum veritatem esse et in terris et in cœlo simul et semel, unum et eundem naturalem et secundum veritatem et substantiam veri corporis.

Ridlœus:—Nego antecedens.

Vuestonus:—Probo e duobus testibus, Chrysostomo Homilia xvii. ad Hebræos: "nonne per singulos dies offerimus? Offerimus quidem, sed recordationem facientes mortis ejus: et una est hæc hostia, non multæ: et quomodo una, et non multæ, quæ semel oblata est in sancto sanctorum? Hoc autem sacrificium exemplum est illius; idipsum semper offerimus, nec nunc quidem alium agnum, crastina alium, sed semper eundem ipsum. Proinde unum est hoc sacrificium hac ratione: alioqui, quoniam in multis locis offertur, multi Christi sunt? nequaquam, sed unus ubique est Christus: et hic plenus existens, et illic plenus, unum corpus." Audi, idipsum semper offerimus, unus ubique Christus, et hic plenus, et illic plenus: ergo ex Chrysostomo, unum est corpus simul in cœlo et in terra.

Ridlœus:—Memini loci satis bene. Ista non militant contra me.

Vuestonus:—Unus ubique est Christus, hic plenus, et illic plenus.

Ridlœus:—Unus Christus ubique, sed non unum corpus.

Vuestonus:—Unum corpus, inquit Chrysostomus.

Ridlœus:—Sed non secundum corporis substantiam est ubique, sed secundum locum: nam hic et illic non indicant locum. Ut Augustinus: Sursum est Dominus, sed ubique est veritas Domini.

Vuestonus:—Non potes sic effugere: non dicit, una est veritas Christi; sed unus est Christus ubique, et hic et illic.

Ridlœus:—Una hostia ubique, propter unitatem ejus quem hostia significat, non quod hostiæ sint eædem.

Vuestonus:—Ergo non est Christus, sed hostia Christi. Sed Chrysostomus, Unum corpus, et unus Christus, ait, non una hostia.

Ridlœus:—Concedo cum Chrysostomo, una est hostia, et non multæ: et una dicitur nostra hostia ab unitate illius unicæ, quam unam omnes nostræ repræsentant: illa autem unica fuit ea, quæ semel duntaxat oblata est in ara crucis; cujus omnes nostræ sunt sacramentalia exemplaria. Et quod dixisti ex Chrysostomo, Christum in multis locis simul offerri, hic plenum, et illic plenum: verum est, Christum quoque offerri simul multis in locis, sed in mysterio et sacramenta-

liter; et plenum esse in omnibus illis locis, non secundum corporalem carnis assumptæ substantiam, sed secundum benedictionem vivificativam, quæ datur piis in pane et vino, ut Cyrillus loquitur. Quod ad oblationem Christi attinet, cujus meminit sic Chrysostomus, ipsemet quid sentiat, clarissime explicat, per correctionem dicens: "Idipsum semper facimus, magis autem recordationem sacrificii operamur."

Vuestonus:—Secundus testis est Bernardus in sermone de cœna Domini: Unde hoc nobis, piissime Jesu, ut nos vermiculi reptantes super faciem terræ, nos inquam, qui pulvis et cinis sumus, te præsentem habere mereamur præ manibus, præ oculis, qui totus et integer sedes ad dexteram Patris; qui etiam unius horæ momento, ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, ab aquilone usque ad austrum, præsto es unus in multis, idem in diversis locis?

Ridlæus:—Illa verba nihil astipulantur tibi: sed scio Bernardum eo tempore fuisse, ut mihi suspectus esse debeat in ista materia. Habet multa commoda dicta, ut etiam hoc loco. Sed secutus est eam ætatem, quum perverse de eucharistia sentiretur: commode tamen eum interpretabor, ut nihil pro te faciat. Dicit habere nos Christum in mysterio, in sacramento, in velamento, post habituros sine velamento; et nunc veritatem Christi eandem ubivis dicit esse: est et hic et illic, est ubique veritas Christi.

Vuestonus:—Quam dicis esse veritatem? non dicit veritatem Christi, sed veritatem corporis Christi.

Ridlæus:—Veritas corporis Christi est vera fides de corpore Christi, et secundum veritatem est apud eos qui habent veram fidem in Christo: hoc est qui vere credunt Christum esse.

Vuestonus:—Est idem in diversis locis: ego urgeo in diversis locis, et non est satisfactum.

Smithus:—Christus visus est in terra realiter et corporaliter post ascensionem et perpetuam sessionem ad dexteram Patris: ergo ascensio et perpetua sessio in cœlis non impediunt quo minus possit esse realiter et corporaliter in sacramento.

Ridlæus:—Si per perpetuam sessionem intelligas residentiam corporis in cœlo, implicat contradictionem.

Smithus:—Non implicant contradictionem hæc duo, videlicet sedere perpetuo ad dexteram Patris, et realiter visum

esse in terris post suam ascensionem: primum dabis Christum esse in cœlo, et sedere ad dextram Patris; quia Actorum tertio dicitur, Oportet eum capere cœlum usque in tempora restitutionis omnium: et visus est in terra Paulo corporaliter post illius ascensionem: ergo duo illa non implicant contradictionem.

Ridlœus:—Nihil impedit, quin Christus possit esse in cœlis et in terris, si velit, et cum velit apparere his quibus voluerit: sed tamen mihi nondum probas ita Christum velle: et quod usque ad judicium Christus perpetuo sit futurus in cœlo; potest tamen aliqua esse remissio. Sed dixi hanc esse controversiam inter doctores et patres. Christum visum fuisse omnes fatentur: sed num in cœlo an in terra existens, hoc ambigitur.

Smithus:—Docebo Christum voluisse apparere in terris: voluit et apparuit in terris post ascensionem suam in cœlos: ergo etc.

Ridlœus:—Apparuit, sed incertum quomodo, utrum in cœlo an in aere. Sic visus est Stephano, cum esset corporaliter in cœlo. Nam secundum verum corporis modum, quando est in cœlo, non est eodem tempore in terra; et quando fuit in terris, non fuit eodem tempore in cœlo.

Smithus:—Christus fuit eodem tempore in cœlo et in terra: ergo erras, dum illud inficiaris.

Ridlœus:—Non prorsus nego Christum visum esse in terris: de incertis incerte pronuncio.

Smithus:—Visus est Paulo, tanquam abortivo, post suam in cœlos ascensionem: ad Corinthios decimo quinto. Sed ista visio fuit corporalis; proinde corporaliter visus est in terris post suam ascensionem in cœlos.

Ridlœus:—Visus est realiter et corporaliter: sed utrum existens in cœlo an in terra, incertum est. Sed de incertis incertum ferendum est judicium. Sed quando fuit in terra corporaliter, oportet te probare, eum eodem tempore fuisse in cœlis.

Smithus:—Quæso an ista visio possit probare resurrectionem Christi.

Ridlœus:—Ego accipio hoc pro solido et valido argumento, ad probandam resurrectionem. Sed utrum in cœlo an in terris conspectus sit, ego dubito: nec magni refert:

perinde enim valet argumentum: alterutrum enim sufficit, sive in cœlis, sive in terris conspectus sit. Certe resurrexit: non enim visus esset, nisi resurrexisset.

Smithus:—Visus est a Paulo conversatus in terris, non e cœlo, ut tu ais.

Ridlœus:—Petis principium; sumis pro confesso, quod probandum erat.

Smithus:—Tergiversaris.

Ridlœus:—Bona verba. Auditores sunt eruditi: intelligunt utrumque nostrum.

Treshamus:—Ita visus est, ut audiri posset: ergo erat corporaliter in terra: quomodo alioqui audiretur?

Ridlœus:—Qui fecit ut Stephanus conspiceret se in cœlo, efficere potuit ut a Paulo audiretur e cœlo.

Smithus:—Visus est Paulo, ut cæteris: sed visibiliter et corporaliter visus est cæteris in terris, ergo et Paulo.

Ridlœus:—Fateor, visus est visibiliter et corporaliter; sed nondum probasti, visum esse in terris.

Smithus:—Sic visus est ut cæteris: sed a cæteris in terra existens visus est, et in terra visibiliter apparuit eis: ergo Paulo visus est in terra.

Ridlœus:—Quod Christus ab ascensione visus sit ab hominibus[1] in terra, certum est. Visus est enim a Stephano, visus est etiam, fateor, a Paulo. Sed utrum ipse ad terras descenderit, an in cœlo constituens præbuerit[2] se Paulo conspicuum, quum[3] Paulus in tertium cœlum raperetur, scio esse controversum: et scriptura, quod sciam, non diffinit[4]: et de incertis incertum judicium ferendum est. (4)

Smithus:—Habemus Ægesippum et Linum contra te, qui testantur, Christum post suam ascensionem apparuisse in terris Petro, corporaliter: libro tertio, capite tertio. Petrus victus precibus et fletibus populi, rogantis eum ut urbe egre- (5)[5]

[1] Parker MS.—homine.

[2] Parker MS.—præbuit.

[3] Parker MS.—cum.

[4] Parker MS.—definit.

[5] (5) This speech is in the following short form in the MS.:

Linus in Historia passionis Petri et Pauli, et Ægesippus testatur Christum visum a Petro.

Then follows Ridley's speech, "Scio ita scriptum," &c.

deretur ob insidias Herodis, cœpit solus proficisci: ubi vero ad portam ventum est, videt Christum accurrere; et adorans eum dixit, Domine, quo vadis? dicit ei Christus: Iterum veni crucifigi. Eandem historiam habet Linus de passione Petri. Ambrosius quoque in epistolis habet, et Abdias Apostolorum discipulus, qui vidit Christum ante suam ascensionem in cœlos. Qua itaque fronte audes asserere incertum esse, quod hi aperte testantur factum?

(6) *Ridlœus:*—Scio ita scriptum esse, et[1] ab Eusebio in ecclesiastica historia. [2]Quanquam non istorum tamen relationes pro canonica scriptura habeo, tametsi si aliquando ab ascensione hic in terris cuipiam apparuisset, nihil nostræ officit sententiæ. Neque enim nos compedes injicimus Christo, ut quidam falso de nobis loquuntur, quin possit pro suo beneplacito in terris, quandocunque vult, apparere. Sed quod simul et eodem temporis momento in cœlo existat et in terris secundum suam[3] substantiam corporalem, [4]dicimus esse contra naturam suæ humanitatis et sui corporis verum modum. Perpetua autem sessio ad dexteram Patris potest (fateor) intelligi stabilitas regni Christi, et perpetua ejusdem cum Patre in gloria cœlesti æqualitas[5].

Smithus:—Jam quando jactatis vestram fidem esse fidem veteris ecclesiæ; ego ostendam non esse, sed pugnare adversus fidem patrum. Adferam Chrysostomum, Homilia secunda ad populum Antiochenum. "Tanquam maximam hæreditatem, Elisæus melotem suscepit. Etenim vere maxima fuit hæreditas, omni auro preciosior: et erat duplex Helias ille: et erat sursum Helias, et deorsum Helias: novi, quod justum illum beatum putatis, et velletis quisque esse ut ille. Quid igitur, si vobis demonstrarem quid aliud, quod illo multo magis omnes sacris mysteriis imbuti recipimus? Helias quidem melotem discipulo reliquit: Filius autem Dei ascendens

[1] Parker MS.—*et*, and the comma omitted.

[2] Parker MS.—Non tamen istas istorias et relationes pro canonica scriptura accipio, quanquam si, &c.

[3] Parker MS.—substantiam suam.

[4] Dicimus.....humanitatis. Thus in the MS.—dicimus esse contra naturam suam corporalem, dicimus esse contra naturam humanitatis suæ.

[5] After this come some speeches, see pp. 482, 483.

suam nobis carnem dimisit. Sed Helias quidem exutus. Christus autem et nobis reliquit, et ipsam habens ascendit."

Ridlæus:—Concedo Christum utrumque fecisse[6] hoc est, et carnem dum ascenderet secum sumpsisse, et hic quoque nobiscum eandem reliquisse: sed id quidem factum est longe diveris modis: assumpsit autem[7] carnem suam secundum veram corporis et carnis corporalem[8] substantiam: reliquit in mysterio in cœna Dominica fidelibus, secundum spiritualem communicationem, et per gratiam percipiendam. Nec percipitur tantum in cœna Dominica, sed et alias quoque ex auditu evangelii et per fidem. Panis enim quem frangimus communicatio corporis est; et generaliter, Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis.

Hic trium phationes populares agebantur, et in me conjiciebantur conviciorum plaustra plena.*

Smithus:—Chrysostomus, de dignitate sacerdotii, libro tertio, capite tertio, ait: "O miraculum, O Dei benevolentiam! qui sursum sedet, tempore sacrificii hominum manibus continetur." Vel, ut alii verterunt: "O miraculum, O Dei benignitatem! qui cum Patre sursum sedet, in illo ipso temporis articulo omnium manibus pertractatur, ac seipsum tradit volentibus ipsum accipere et complecti. (19)[9]

Ridlæus:—Tenetur profecto a piis, communicantibus non solum sacramentaliter manu corporis, sed[10] multo salubrius manu cordis, et haustu interiori sumitur: at per sacramentalem significationem tenetur ab omnibus. (20)

Setonus:—Ubi est ergo miraculum, si adest tantum per gratiam et in mysterio solum?

Ridlæus:—Est miraculum, oh Domine. Christus non est otiosus in sacramentis suis. Nonne est magnum miraculum, cum panis, qui solet pascere corpus, fit cibus animæ? qui non intelligit miraculum, non intelligit vim mysterii. Deus det ut omnes agnoscamus veritatem, et ei pareamus.

[6] Parker MS.—*fecisse* is omitted.

[* This note is likewise in the MS. in a bracket at the end of the speech.]

[7] Parker MS.—*enim.*

[8] Parker MS.—*corporalis.*

[9] (19) Parker MS.—*Smyth:*—Chrysost. Lib. iv. de dignitate sacerdotali; O firma beneficentia! O miraculum! qui sursum sedet ad dexteram Dei patris, eadem hora omnium manibus tenetur.

[10] Parker MS.—sed et multo.

Smithus:—Dicit Chrysostomus miraculum, quod Christus sedeat ad dexteram Dei in cœlis, et eodem tempore hominum manibus contineatur: non quod hominum manibus pertractetur solum in mysterio, et sit in illis per gratiam. Tu itaque dum id negas, plane falleris, ac a vero longe aberras.

Harpsfeldus:—Non est prætermittendus prior locus Chrysostomi: liceat hoc unum prius interrogare. An non est magnum, quod Elias reliquit chlamydem et donum prophetiæ discipulo suo?

Ridlœus:—Est magnum.

Harpsfeldus:—Reliquit igitur Elias magnam gratiam?

Ridlœus:—Reliquit.

(21)[1] *Harpsfeldus:*—At Christus reliquit longe majorem gratiam, quam Elias. Ille enim non potuit simul relinquere et suscipere chlamydem; utrumque Christus fecit in carne.

(22) *Ridlœus:*—Concedo lubenter[2], Christum multo majora nobis reliquisse, quam Helias Helisæo, licet dicatur reliquisse[3] duplicem suum spiritum: quia virtus et gratia corporis Christi, quam Christus ascendens nobis reliquit, unica est salus et vita ominum servandorum, quam reliquit nobis Christus hic per fidem percipiendam ex auditu verbi et ex legitima sacramentorum[4] nobis facta administratione. Hanc virtutem et gratiam Chrysostomus, more Joannis Evangelistæ, carnem Christi vocat[5].

Harpsfeldus:—Sed majus Christus præstitit. Subvexit enim, et reliquit: non intelligis collationem: in hoc est collatio, quod Helias reliquit melotam et non retinuit; Christus reliquit, et retinuit secum suam ipsius carnem.

Ridlœus:—Verum est, et hoc ego ante statuebam. Tu quum multa videaris dicere, nihil dicis novi. Sit gratia collata gratiæ, multo majorem gratiam contulit Christus, quum nos insereret in carnem suam.

[1] (21) Parker MS.—*Harpsfeld:*—Christus majus quiddam reliquit, quam Helias cum pallium discipulo reliquisset: Helias autem cum pallio reliquit gratiam, per quam Heliseus postea pallio Heliæ aquam dividebat.

[2] Parker MS.—libenter.

[3] Parker MS.—duplieem reliquisse *for* reliquisse duplicem.

[4] Parker MS.—duorum sacramentorum.

[5] For (23), see p. 483.

Harpsfeldus:—Si licet ingenue te interrogare: si voluisset Chrysostomus hoc intelligere, Christum reliquisse corpus suum in eucharistia, tu cogita, quibus uti potuit verbis apertioribus?

Ridlæus:—Sunt ista non tam vehementia, quam grande quippiam præ se ferentia. Potuit uti verbis crassioribus, si voluisset hoc ita crasse significare; erat enim eloquens: nunc loquitur more aliorum patrum, qui mystice de rebus mysticis loquuntur, et de sacramentis sacramentaliter.

Harpsfeldus:—Collatio est in eo, quod erat Heliæ impossibile, Christo autem est possibile.

Ridlæus:—Fateor, fuit possibile Christo, quod erat illi impossibile. Elias reliquit chlamydem, Christus et reliquit carnem suam et sustulit.

Harpsfeldus:—Elias dimisit, et non potuit tollere: Christus dimisit et sustulit. Nisi statuis in hoc collationem, nihil est.

Ridlæus:—Tulit carnem suam in cœlum, et carnis suæ communionem reliquit.

Vuestonus:—Intelligis carnem in primo loco pro vera carne, et in secundo loco pro gratia et communicatione carnis; et cur non intelligis in secundo loco pro vera carne? Ego palam faciam, quam sit stupida et crassa responsio tua.

Ridlæus:—Hæ sunt contumeliæ: neque, ut opinor, decent modestiam hujus scholæ.

Vuestonus:—Elias reliquet chlamydem discipulis, sed Filius Dei ascendens reliquit carnem: sed Helias vere dimisit chlamydem, Christusque carnem; et tamen ascendens eandem sustulit. Ex quibus verbis sic argumentamur: Christus carnem reliquit discipulis, et tamen eandem secum sustulit. Ergo nobiscum præsens adest. Hinc dominus Doctor in hunc modum respondet: Tulit carnem suam in cœlum, et carnis suæ communionem reliquit. Indocta nimis responsio.

Ridlæus:—Gaudeo te Anglice loqui: cupio enim universum orbem intelligere, quæ disputamus. Reliquit nobis carnem suam: hoc tu intelligis de carne ipsius, ego vero de gratia. Tulit ille carnem suam, et nobis carnis reliquit communionem.

Vuestonus:—Censores, quid judicatis de hoc responso?

Censores:—Ridiculum et ineptum.

Ridlæus:—Lubens hæc Christi causa patior.

Vuestonus citat locum:—"Spargimur sanguine Christi."

Ridlæus:—Domine Doctor, est idem sanguis, sed spiritualiter exceptus; atque eodem sanguine spargebantur prophetæ omnes, sed spiritualiter et per gratiam. Et quicunque sanguine hoc non sparguntur, salutis participes esse non possunt.

(15)[1] *Vuestonus:*—Adduco tibi Bernardum: "Ab occidente ad orientem, ab aquilone ad austrum, unus in multis est, et idem in diversis locis." *Eademque repetebat Anglice.*

(16) *Ridlæus:*—Facilis est responsio, quod unus Christus sit hic[2] et in diversis locis: quippe Deus secundum majestatem, secundum providentiam, et, ut Augustinus ait, cum piis ubique secundum indivisibilem et ineffabilem gratiam. Alioqui si secundum corporalem præsentiam intelligeretur Bernardus, quam monstrosum et giganteum corpus faceretis de corpore Christi, quod ab aquilone in austrum, ab occasu in ortum usque protenderetur[3].

Vuestonus:—Imo tu prodigiosam et ineruditam responsionem.

Vuardus:—Priusquam attulero quæ adferre destinaveram, libet redire ad argumentum Doctoris, quo videbaris constrictus dubitare de Christi præsentia in terris: ad eam rem nihil aliud allaturus sum, quam quod in catechismo synodi Londinensis, nuper abs te edito, decretum est.

Ridlæus:—Hoc primum scias, me nullum catechismum edidisse.

Vuestonus:—Coegisti me subscribere, quum esses purpuratus episcopus.

Ridlæus:—Ego neminem coegi subscribere.

Vuardus:—Imo tu es auctor illius hæreseos.

Ridlæus:—Ego nullum edidi catechismum.

Colus:—Nunquam assentitus es his quæ edita sunt te probante?

Ridlæus:—Fateor me vidisse librum, scripsisse nego: recognovi, et plurima annotavi: consensi ei libro, non fui auctor.

[1] (15) Parker MS.—*Vueston:*—Bernardus in sermone de cœna domini ait: gratulare, sponsa, gaude ineffabiliter; unus et in multis locis, idem in diversis locis, Christus a solis ortu usque ad occasum, ab aquilone ad austrum offertur: ergo potest esse simul multis in locis.

[2] Parker MS.—*ubique* instead of *hic et in diversis locis.*

[3] For (17), see p. 483.

Censores:—Proponitur catechismus, quasi in synodo Londinensi ei fuisset consensum. Cranmerus aiebat heri te edidisse.

Ridlœus:—Non credo eum dixisse.

Vuardus:—Catechismus sic habet, "si visibiliter et in terra," etc.

Ridlœus:—Respondeo articulos illos editos fuisse, me et cognoscente, et consentiente: id manus mea probavit, et Cranmerus manum suam apposuit, et aliis eos articulos exhibuit. Locus autem ille, quem adfers, potest commode exponi.

Vuardus:—Christus est potentia Patris, et virtus: ergo non fuit ea infirmitate, ut non posset efficere quæ volebat.

Ridlœus:—Concedo.

Vuardus:—Fuit sapientia Patris; ergo prudenter locutus est, et eo modo quo posset ab omnibus intelligi: neque aliud pro alio volebat loqui.

Ridlœus:—Hoc totum.

Vuardus:—Et veritas ipsa fuit: ergo vere effecit et præstitit, quod instituit facere: et eum neque fallere, nec falli potuisse, nec fallere voluisse, est verisimile.

Vuestonus:—Hilarius in Psalmum cxviii. Vera omnia sunt, et neque otiose, et neque inutiliter constituta Dei verba, sed extra omnem ambiguitatem superfluæ inanitatis, ignita, et ignita vehementer, ne quid illic esse, quod non perfectum ac proprium sit, existimetur.

Vuardus:—Est veritas Patris: ergo nec fallere nec falli potest; præsertim quum extrema loqueretur, et testamentum conderet.

Ridlœus:—Christus est ipsa Patris veritas: et video quorsum tendas: at hæc ambago verborum; et si recte intelligantur, ea verba sunt verissima, Hoc est corpus meum.

Vuardus:—Accepit, fregit, dedit, etc. quid accepit?

Ridlœus:—Panem, corpus suum.

Vuardus:—Quid fregit?

Ridlœus:—Panem.

Vuardus:—Quid dedit?

Ridlœus:—Panem.

Vuardus:—Num dedit triticeam et materialem?

Ridlœus:—Nescio an triticeam, dedit veram et materialem.

Vuardus:—Contra ostendo ex scripturis, tradidit quod jussit eos accipere: sed non jussit eos accipere panem materialem, sed corpus suum. Ergo non dedit panem materialem, sed corpus suum.

(28) *Ridlæus:*—Nego minorem. Jussit enim accipere corpus suum sacramentaliter, in pane materiali: et ita et[1] panis erat, quod eos accipere jussit, quia substantia erat panis; et etiam corpus, quia sacramentum erat sui corporis propter sanctificationem et accessionem Spiritus sancti, qui mysteriis a Christo institutis et legitime administratis semper solet assistere[2].

Harpsfeldus:—Quis ita dicit, scilicet per accessionem Spiritus sancti?

Ridlæus:—Habeo Theophylactum auctorem, et eum affero: ut intelligatis, eam phrasim non esse meam. Vigesimo sexto in Matth. "Porro dicens, Hoc corpus meum, ostendit, quod ipsum corpus Domini est panis, qui sanctificatur in altario."

Oglethorpus:—Ille locus Theophylacti aperte contra te facit: dicit enim eo loco, quod Christus non dicit, Hæc est figura corporis mei, sed corpus meum. Ineffabili enim operatione, inquit, transformatur, etiamsi nobis videatur panis.

Ridlæus:—Non est figura. Hoc est, non tantum est figura.

Vuestonus:—Ubi hoc "tantum" est?

Ridlæus:—Non eo in loco, sed alibi habetur; et Augustinus ita sæpe loquitur, et cæteri doctores.

Vuestonus recitat ea verba Theophylacti Anglice:—Christus non dicit figuram esse, tuque figuram esse dicis. Fitque, inquit ille, conversio panis in carnem Dominicam.

Ridlæus:—Concedo panem converti in carnem Christi, at non per transubstantiationem, sed per sacramentalem conversionem. Transformatur, inquit Theophylactus ibidem, per mysticam benedictionem, et accessionem Spiritus sancti in carnem Domini: non dicit, per expulsionem substantiæ panis et substitutionem corporalis substantiæ carnis Domini. Et quod dicit, Non est figura corporis, subintelligendum est quod et ipse alibi addidit: videlicet, tantum: hoc est, non nuda figura corporis. Assistit enim Christus suis mysteriis.

[1] Parker MS.—this *et* is omitted.

[2] For (29), see p. 483.

"Neque unquam," ut Cyprianus ait, "divina majestas absentat sese a divinis mysteriis, et cætera."

Vuestonus:—Tu addis hoc "tantum:" hocque unum est mendacium. Dico præterea: Petrus Martyr coactus est hunc ipsum negare auctorem, cum tam fortiter locus hic contra se faceret. Sed observa diligenter verba. Non dixit, "Hæc est figura corporis mei;" sed, "Est corpus meum."

Ridlæus:—Si verba auctoris, non sensum accipiamus, id vere est injuriam auctori facere.

Hardingus:—Nullus doctorum omnium magis contra te facit. Verbum enim græce habet μεταστοιχειοῦται, quod latine habet, si vertimus, transelementatur. Deinde rationem reddens cur panis forma maneat, sic habet: Quoniam, inquit, infirmi sumus, et horremus crudas carnes comedere, maxime hominis carnem, ideo panis quidem apparet, sed caro est. Sedebat hic ad mensam inter scribas.

Ridlæus:—Vox illa vim eam non habet, quam tu ei attribuis. Attribuis enim nimium: et tamen cum omnia attribueris, haud quicquam in rem tuam facit. Siquidem habet idem auctor alibi ἡμεῖς μεταστοιχειούμεθα, id est, transformamur mutamurque in corpus Christi. Quod si mihi libeat ad hunc modum vim vocabuli urgere, possem perinde mihi probare, licere nos reipsa transformari in verum Christi corpus.

Vuardus:—Erudite doctor, tu sic interpretaris: Hoc est corpus meum, id est, figura corporis mei.

Ridlæus:—Etsi scio esse qui sic interpretentur, tamen illa non est plena interpretatio, ut totum exprimat.

Vuardus:—"Oves meæ vocem meam audiunt, et sequuntur me." Sed omnes oves Christi audiunt hanc vocem, Hoc est corpus meum, sine figura. Ergo ea est vox Christi.

Ridlæus:—Oves Christi audiunt et sequuntur vocem Christi, nisi seducantur et ignorantia decipiantur.

Vuardus:—At patres hunc locum non habuere pro tropica locutione.

Ridlæus:—Imo omnes numerant hunc sermonem inter tropicos.

Vuardus:—Justinus Martyr, in Apologia secunda, habet sic: Neque vero hæc pro pane potuve communi sumimus: imo quemadmodum verbo Dei Jesus Christus, Servator noster, incarnatus habuit pro salute nostra carnem et sanguinem;

ita per orationem illius verbi consecratum hoc alimentum, quo sanguis et carnes nostræ per immutationem enutriuntur, ejusdem incarnati carnem et sanguinem esse sumus edocti.

Vuestonus:—Hunc locum Cranmerus corrupit, Anglice in hunc sensum vertens: Panem, aquam et vinum in hoc sacramento non ita percipi debere, quemadmodum alii cibi et potus, quibus quotidie utimur; sed tanquam epulæ ad hoc destinatæ, ut gratiæ Deo agerentur, atque nunc eucharistiam, nunc corpus et sanguinem nominari Christi. Neque fas esse ut quis illa percipiat, nisi qui Christum professus sit, et convenienter professioni suæ vivat. Hunc tamen cibum et potionem ille in carnem et sanguinem nostrum converti, ut corpora nostra nutrirent, affirmat.

Ridlæus:—O bone doctor, sincere agamus quæso! non sum ignarus hujus loci, et novi quam varie a variis accipiatur.

Vuardus repetit locum Justini: Edocti sumus, etc.

Ridlæus:—O quanta iniquitas! Ego habeo locum descriptum. Scis tu qui græce nosti, quomodo verba mota sint loco, nec satis justa de causa.

Vuardus:—Urgeo argumentum.

Ridlæus:—Si vis ut ego respondeam Justino, opertet audias. Ego unam tantum habeo linguam; non possum respondere omnibus.

Vuardus:—"Desiderio desideravi hoc pascha manducare vobiscum." Quod pascha, rogo, desideravit manducare? Si hæreas, habes ex Tertulliano lib. quarto contra Marcionem: "Professus itaque se concupiscentia concupisse edere pascha, ut suum, (indignum enim, ut alienum concupisceret Deus,) acceptum panem, et distributum discipulis, suum corpus illud fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo." Num ergo hoc paschate Judaicum agnum intellexit, an id præstitit in cœna?

Ridlæus:—Puto, quod sentit primum de paschate Judaico, postea de Eucharistia.

Vuardus:—Imo contra Tertullianus ait, quod concupivit manducare pascha suum: sed pascha Judaicum erat alienum a Christo, et non suum. Ergo non sentit de paschate Judaico.

Ridlæus:—Pascha Judaicum non erat alienum a Christo, sed suum: quia ipse est omnium Dominus, et tam paschatis Judaicæ quam cœnæ suæ Dominus.

Vuardus:—Quid respondes Tertulliano, qui pascha suum dicit concupisse, non utique Judaicum, quod constabat ex verbis sine carne?

Ridlæus:—Potest Tertullianus in anagoge ludere. Cyprianum scio hæc habere: "Tunc instituit quidem eucharistiam: sed utrumque erat Christi."

Vuardus:—Augustinus in psalmum nonagesimum octavum, in hæc verba, "Adorate scabellum pedum ejus," "Quæro," inquit, "quid sit scabellum pedum ejus: et dicit in scriptura, Terra scabellum pedum meorum: fluctuans converto me ad Christum, quia ipsum quæro hic, et invenio, quomodo sine impietate adoretur scabellum pedum ejus. Suscepit enim de terra terram: quia caro de terra est, et de carne Mariæ carnem accepit, et quia in ipsa carne hic ambulavit, et ipsam carnem nobis manducandam ad salutem dedit: nemo autem illam carnem manducat nisi prius adoraverit: inventum est, quomodo tale scabellum pedum Domini adoretur, et non solum non peccemus adorando, sed peccemus non adorando. Ipsam dedit nobis carnem manducandam, quam accepit de terra, qua hic ambulavit, etc." Sed nunquam dedit ipsam carnem manducandam, nisi in porrigendo, quum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum. Ergo in Eucharistia dedit nobis ipsam carnem.

Ridlæus:—Si de vera carne Christi[1] loqueris, secundum substantiam carnis assumptæ, et non per gratiam et spiritualiter, nego majorem. Sin autem intelligas de vera carne, secundum gratiam et spiritualem communicationem; tunc concedo majorem, et nego minorem. Dat enim nobis[2] vere carnem suam manducandam, omnibus in eum credentibus. Est enim verus cibus animæ, quo pascimur[3] perpetuo in vitam æternam, juxta illud "Caro mea vere est cibus," etc. (36)

Smithus:—Quid si Augustinus dicat Christum non tantum in figura nobis sese dedisse, sed ipsam carnem suam reipsa seu realiter?

Ridlæus:—Ego nunquam dixi, Christum tantum figuram dedisse corporis sui: reipsa enim dedit reali communicatione, hoc est, secundum communicationem carnis carnem suam.

[1] Parker MS.—*Christi* omitted.
[2] Parker MS.—*vere nobis* for *nobis vere*.
[3] Parker MS.—vescimur.

Vuestonus legit locum Augustini Anglice, postea subjecit: Tu dicis Christum non corpus suum, sed figuram corporis dedisse.

Ridlæus:—Non ita affirmo. Dico dedisse corpus suum reipsa: dedit enim reali communicatione, hoc est, secundum communicationem carnis, carnem suam.

(37) *Doctor Glinnus:*—[1]Post hæc argumentari cœpit Doctor Glinnus, qui post contumeliosam in me præfationem (quam, fateor, eo molestius tuli, quod habitus est mihi semper pro veterano amico: sed quia scenæ, credo, inservire voluit, et postea[2] ad ædes in quibus custodiebar accedens petiit a me suorum dictorum veniam coram Yongo[3], Oglethorpo, et altero: ego[4] vero ex animo illi remitto, optoque claram in Domino evangelicæ sinceritatis cognitionem, et precor ut aliquando remissis non illi modo, sed et reliquis omnibus, omnibus offensis, plene reconciliati conveniamus in domo Patris cœlestis. Sed[5] ad argumentum, quod in hunc formavit modum:) Agnovit ecclesia verum[6] Christi corpus in sacramento: ergo ibi est verum Christi corpus. Antecedens patet ex Augustino, contra Faustum hæreticum.

(38) *Ridlæus:*—Quomodo ecclesia Christi, quæ est sponsa Christi, edocta a Spiritu sancto et per regulam verbi[7], agnovit[8] verum corpus Christi in cœna Dominica; et ego lubenter agnosco. Agnoscit autem ecclesia præsentiam corporis in cœna Domini piis per gratiam et spiritualiter, ut sæpe jam dixi, et per sacramentalem significationem[9], non autem per corporalem præsentiam corporis carnis Christi.

Glinnus:—Augustinus contra Faustum libro vicesimo, capite decimo tertio: "Nonnulli propter panem et calicem

[1] Parker MS.—Post.....qui, omitted in the MS., which runs thus, "Glinnus post contumeliosam præfationem cujam, quam fateor, &c."

[2] Parker MS.—inserts *cum*, and writes *venisset*, where the transcript has *accedens*.

[3] Parker MS.—Yongo opinor et Oglethorpo.

[4] Parker MS.—Ego illi ex animo remitto et opto, &c.

[5] Parker MS.—Sed argumentum ita formavit.

[6] Parker MS.—*Christi* omitted.

[7] Parker MS.—inserts *Christi*.

[8] Parker MS.—agnoscere [probably a mistake in writing.]

[9] Parker MS.—inserts *communicari omnibus*.

Cererem et Bacchum nos colere existimabant." Ex hoc loco ego colligo, adorationem eucharistiæ fuisse apud veteres; et Erasmus ad fratres in inferiori Germania ait, adorationem eucharistiæ fuisse ante Augustinum et Cyprianum.

Ridlæus:—Signa ipsa venerabiliter tractamus: sed symbolum pro symbolo veneramur, non pro reipsa.

Glinnus:—Quid est symbolum?

Ridlæus:—Panis.

Glinnus:—Ergo adoramus panem.

Ridlæus:—In verbo 'adorare' est fallacia. Adoramus symbola hæc, quum venerabiliter ea tractamus: adoramus Christum, ubicunque Christi intelligimus beneficia: maximum autem Christi beneficium intelligimus in sacramento.

Glinnus:—Ita possum coram scamno procumbere, et adorare Christum: et si quis roget, quid agam? possum respondere, me Christum adorare.

Ridlæus:—Adoramus Christum ipsum in Eucharistia; et si intelligas symbolum, id quoque dico tanquam symbolum adorandum.

Glinnus:—Hæc est fides primitivæ ecclesiæ.

Ridlæus:—Utinam sequeremur fidem illius ecclesiæ.

Glinnus:—Putasne nunc Christum habere ecclesiam?

Ridlæus:—Puto.

Glinnus:—At omnis ecclesia adorat Christum vere et realiter in sacramento.

Ridlæus:—Tu nosti, quod orientalis ecclesia noluerit agnoscere transubstantiationem, ut patet in concilio Florentino.

Colus:—Hoc falsum est: nam in eodem concilio agnoverunt transubstantiationem, licet de ea tractare noluerunt, eo quod [non] haberent in commissione.

Ridlæus:—At nihil de ea volebant decernere, cum proponeretur ille articulus.

Colus:—Non quia non agnoverunt, sed quod non habebant in commissione.

Curtoppus:—Reverende vir, docebo, quod vere ac realiter corpus Christi sit in Eucharistia. Cumque ea de re sancti (39)[10]

[10] (39) *Curtop:*—Chrysostomus; Quod est in calice, id est quod fluxit de latere Christi; sed verus sanguis corporaliter fluxit de latere Christi: ergo verus et naturalis sanguis corporaliter est in sacramento altaris.

patres et occidentalis et orientalis ecclesiæ tam multa et manifesta scripserint, ego tamen unum adferam in medium Chrysostomum; est locus illius in decimum caput primæ ad Corinthios, Homilia vicesimaquarta: Quod est in calice, id est quod effluxit de latere Christi. Sed verus sanguis et genuinus fluxit de latere Christi: ergo genuinus et verus sanguis est in calice.

(40) *Ridlæus:*—Quemadmodum panis sacramentalis et eucharisticus dicitur corpus Christi[1] pro nobis traditum; ita[2] poculum Domini est sanguis qui fluxit[3] de latere Christi. Sed panis ille sacramentalis dicitur corpus[4], quia est ejus corporis[5] sacramentum: [6]item et calix sanguis dicitur qui fluxit de latere Christi, quia est ejus sanguinis de latere effluentis sacramentum, ab ipso Domino ordinatum in nostrum singulare commodum, hoc est, ad alitionem nostram spiritualem: sicut est baptismus in aqua, ad spiritualem regenerationem[7].

Curtoppus:—Sacramentum sanguinis non est sanguis.

Ridlæus:—Sacramentum sanguinis est sanguis: et tribuitur id sacramento, quod est rei sacramenti.

Vuestonus repetit argumentum Curtoppi Anglice. Quod est in calice, id est quod defluxit e latere Christi. Sed verus sanguis et genuinus fluxit e latere Christi: ergo genuinus et verus sanguis est in calice.

Ridlæus:—Verus sanguis Christi vere est in calice, non reali tamen ipsius præsentia, sed gratia, juxtaque sacramenti modum.

Vuestonus:—Bene quidem habet: tandem ergo sanguinem reperimus in calice, verum quidem ipsum, sed per gratiam et sacramenti modum. *Hicque doctores circumstantes exsibilare incipiunt.*

[1] Parker MS.—quod pro nobis est traditum.

[2] Parker MS.—inserts *sane.*

[3] Parker MS.—fluxerat.

[4] Parker MS.—inserts *Christi domini pro nobis traditum.*

[5] Parker MS.—inserts *pro nobis traditi.*

[6] Parker MS.—From *item* to *sacramentum* stands thus: ita dicitur calix, vel id quod est in calice, sanguis pro nobis fusus, vel id quod fluxit de latere Christi, quia est ejus sanguinis de latere effluentis sacramentum.

[7] For (41), see p. 484.

Ridlæus:—O viri quæso gravissimi, istud modo quod facitis, non pro judicio, sed præjudicio accipiam.

Vuatsonus:—Gravissime vir, statui hoc tempore rationem habere temporis, et abstinere ab omnibus, quæ possent remorari congressum nostrum: idcirco primum peto, cum diceret Christus, sexto Johannis, "Qui manducat carnem meam," etc. significatne iis verbis manducationem suæ carnis veræ et naturalis, an panis et symboli?

Ridlæus:—Intelligo eum locum de vere Christi carne, sed spiritualiter manducata; et dico, sacramentum etiam pertinere ad spiritualem manducationem. Nam sacramentum comedere sine spiritu, est inutiliter comedere. Qui enim non spiritualiter manducat, judicium sibi manducat.

Vuatsonus:—Quæro an sit eucharistia sacramentum?

Ridlæus:—Eucharistia accepta pro symbolo est sacramentum.

Vuatsonus:—Est a Deo institutum?

Ridlæus:—Est institutum a Deo.

Vuatsonus:—Ubi?

Ridlæus:—In cœna.

Vuatsonus:—Quibus verbis fit sacramentum?

Ridlæus:—Verbis et factis, quæ Christus dixit et fecit, et jussit nos dicere et facere.

Vuatsonus:—Receptum est, sacramenta novæ legis conferre gratiam digne sumentibus.

Ridlæus:—Verum est gratiam conferri per sacramentum, sed tanquam per instrumentum. Vis interna et Christus conferunt gratiam per sacramentum.

Vuatsonus:—Quid est sacramentum?

Ridlæus:—Memini multas esse sacramenti definitiones apud Augustinum; sed ego utar ea, quæ videtur ad rem facere maxime: sacramentum est signum visibile invisibilis gratiæ.

Vuatsonus:—Ergo sumentibus confertur gratia.

Ridlæus:—Societas per Spiritum sanctum cum Christo est gratia, et per sacramentum fimus membra corporis Christi mystici, quia per sacramentum pars corporis inseritur capiti.

Vuatsonus:—Est alia ratio corporis mystici et naturalis.

Ridlæus:—Alia, fateor, est ratio, sed caput utriusque est idem.

Vuatsonus:—Si substantia panis et vini manet, societas illa promittitur sumentibus panem et vinum: sed promissio facta est carni et sanguini, Johannis vi. "Qui manducat," etc.

Ridlæus:—Promissio quidem facta est carni et sanguini, sed ea recipiuntur in sacramento per fidem.

Vuatsonus:—Omne sacramentum habet gratiam promissam sibi. Sed panis et vinum non habent gratiam promissam. Ergo panis et vinum non sunt sacramenta.

Ridlæus:—Verum est, omne sacramentum habet gratiam annexam instrumentaliter. Sed varius est intellectus hujus vocis "Habet:" sacramentum enim non habet inclusam gratiam, sed bene utentibus cedit in gratiam. Sic aqua in baptismo habet promissam gratiam, et per eam Spiritus infunditur: non quod in aqua inclusa sit gratia, sed quod per aquam confertur gratia.

Vuatsonus:—Hæc promissio facta est carni et sanguini Christi, et non pani et vino. Ergo sacramentum non est panis et vinum, sed corpus et sanguis Christi.

Ridlæus:—Accipienti panem communem, et vinum commune, nulla est facta promissio; sed recipienti sanctum panem, et panem communionis, magna facta est promissio gratiæ: nec promissio data est symbolis, sed rei sacramenti. Res autem sacramenti est caro et sanguis.

Vuatsonus:—Omne sacramentum novi testamenti dat gratiam promissam a Deo digne recipientibus.

Ridlæus:—Hoc sacramentum habet promissionem gratiæ digne recipientibus, quod per illud tanquam per instrumentum datur gratia: non quod Christus transfundit gratiam in panem et vinum.

Vuatsonus:—Sed hæc promissio, quæ facta est, non est nisi digne recipientibus carnem et sanguinem, non panem et vinum.

Ridlæus:—Illa propositio habet multiplicem intellectum: tanquam panem communem, ut dixi, sumentibus nulla facta est promissio; digne autem sumentibus panem sanctum promissio facta est gratiæ: sicut etiam Origenes dicit.

Vuatsonus:—Ubi ea facta est promissio?

Ridlæus:—"Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est?" et "unus panis, unum corpus Christi multi sumus."

Vuatsonus:—Quid ibi per panem intelligit?

Ridlæus:—Panem mensæ Dominicæ, communionem corporis Christi.

Vuatsonus:—Audi Chrysostomum sub eum locum: "Panis quem frangimus, nonne communicatio corporis Christi est? Quare non dixit 'participatio'? quia amplius quid significare voluit, et multam inter hæc convenientiam ostenderet. Non enim participatione tantum et acceptione, sed unitate communicamus. Quemadmodum enim corpus illud unitum est Christo, ita et nos per hunc panem unione conjungimur."

Ridlæus:—Habeat Chrysostomus suos loquendi modos. Si vera dicat, non rejicio. Sed sit mihi liberum panem verum dicere.

Vuatsonus:—"Omnes," inquit Chrysostomus, "qui in una accumbunt mensa, de uno vero corpore communicant: quid appello, inquit, communicationem? idem ipsum corpus sumus. Quidnam significat panis? corpus Christi. Quid autem sunt qui accipiunt? corpus Christi. Non multi sunt unum corpus." Chrysostomus interpretatur hunc locum contra te. Omnes unus panis et unum corpus mysticum sumus, qui uno pane Christi participamus.

Ridlæus:—Omnes quidem unum mysticum corpus sumus, qui de uno Christo communicamus in pane, secundum vivificationis efficientiam.

Vuatsonus:—De quo pane loquitur?

Ridlæus:—De pane mensæ Dominicæ.

Vuatsonus:—Estne panis ille unus?

Ridlæus:—Est unus unius ecclesiæ, quia proponebatur in mensa unus: ita de uno pane participant omnes, qui in mensa Domini communicant.

Vuatsonus:—Vide quam absurde loqueris! Omnesne qui a principio mundi usque ad finem?

Ridlæus:—Omnes qui in eadem mensa simul mysteria (52)
communicabant, bene poterant. Quanquam et unus est[1] panis etiam cœlestis, cujus hic panis sacramentalis est mysterium, quem sane eundem omnes[2] participamus.

Vuatsonus:—Perversa responsio. Qui omnes? Nunquid omnes homines Christiani?

[1] Parker MS.—omits *est*.

[2] Parker MS.—inserts *spiritualiter*.

Ridlæus:—Distribuo vocem "omnes:" quia solebant omnes de uno pane in partes diviso communicare, omnes qui erant in uno cœtu, omnesque qui in una mensa communicabant.

Vuatsonus:—Omnes ergo qui non communicabant, cum adessent, excludis a corpore Christi?

Feknamus:—At Cyprianus ait, "Panis quem nulla multitudo consumit:" quod intelligi non potest, nisi de corpore Christi.

Ridlæus:—Et agebat eo loco Cyprianus de vero Christi corpore, non de pane materiali.

Feknamus:—Imo agebat potius de sacramento, in tractatione nimirum de cœna Domini.

Ridlæus:—Verum est, et fateor, agebat de sacramento. Sed de spirituali manducatione aliquid aspersit etiam.

Smithus:—Cum Dominus dicit, Hoc est corpus meum, non utitur tropico sermone: ergo falleris.

Ridlæus:—Nego antecedens.

(53)[1] *Smithus:*—Adduco Augustinum super Psalmum tricesimum tertium, concione prima, interpretantem ea verba, "Ferebatur in manibus suis:" primo Regum. "Hoc quomodo possit fieri in homine, quis intelligat? Manibus enim suis nemo portatur, sed alienis. Quomodo intelligatur de Davide secundum literam, non invenimus. De Christo autem invenimus: ferebatur enim Christus in manibus suis quum diceret, Hoc est corpus meum: ferebat enim illud corpus in manibus suis." Non videbat Augustinus, quomodo hic locus ad literam intelligeretur de Davide, quia nemo seipsum poterit portare in manibus suis. Ergo dicit locum intelligendum de Christo ad literam. Nam Christus portabat se manibus suis, quum in cœna traderet sacramentum discipulis, dicens, Hoc est corpus meum.

(54) *Ridlæus:*—Quamvis[2] sciam illum locum[3] scripturæ aliter

[1] (53) This speech stands thus in the Parker MS.

Smyth:—Augustinus scribit de David quod ferebatur in manibus suis; at de David ad literam non invenitur quod ferebat sese in manibus suis; sed hoc in ultima cœna factum est, quando tradebat corpus suum discipulis suis in sacramento altaris: ergo in sacramento altaris est verum corpus Christi.

[2] Parker MS.—Quanquam.

[3] Parker MS.—locum illum *for* illum locum, and below meæ sententiæ *for* sententiæ meæ.

ab aliis legi secundum veritatem Hæbraicam, et aliter exponi; tamen detur tibi expositio Augustini, et dico, quod sententiæ meæ nihil adversatur. Nam Christus ferebat sese in manibus suis, dum sacramentum corporis sui traderet discipulis suis comedendum.

Smithus:—Ergo verum est de Christo ad literam, quod ferebatur manibus suis? (55)[4]

Ridlœus:—Concedo dictum esse[5] ab Augustino quod de Davide non invenitur ad literam, quod ferebat sese in manibus suis, et[6] quod de Christo invenitur. Sed verbum illud ad literam, non recte refers ad id quod portabatur[7]. Debet enim ad eum qui portabat referri. Sentit enim Augustinus, quod nusquam legatur in sacris literis, quod carnalis ipse David filius Jessæ portabat sese in manibus suis; sed de Davide spirituali, [8]qui Goliath diabolum prostravit: hoc est, de Christo Servatore, Virginis filio, ad literam[9] bene invenitur, quod ipse portabat sese in manibus suis, quodam videlicet modo, nimirum[10] dum ferebat sui ipsius sacramentum: et verbum 'quodam modo' habet ipse Augustinus, ut quid sentiret, palam omnibus manifestaret. (56)

Smithus:—Quilibet potest ferre figuram corporis sui in manibus suis: sed Augustinus negat Davidem se potuisse ferre in manibus suis: proinde non loquitur de figura corporis.

Ridlœus:—Si Augustinus invenisset in sacris literis, ubi David portavit sacramentum sui corporis; tunc nunquam usus fuisset expositione hujusmodi de Christo.

[4] (55) The speech corresponding to this stands thus in the Parker MS.

Smyth:—Dicit Augustinus, ad literam non inventum de Davide, et de Christo invenitur [si de Christo invenitur], sed non invenitur nisi quando instituit sacramentum altaris in ultima cœna, ergo Christus ad literam et secundum figuram non ferebat sese [*probably, for* non secundum figuram,] et ita secundum sinceritatem et non secundum figuram Christi corpus est in sacramento altaris.

[5] Parker MS.—esse *omitted.*

[6] Parker MS.—at.

[7] Parker MS.—portatur.

[8] There is a blank in the Parker MS. where this clause "qui..... prostravit" should come in.

[9] Parker MS.—*omits* ad literam.

[10] Parker MS.—nimirum.....saeramentum *stands thus,* nimirum divini sui ipsius sacramenti.

Smithus:—Sed ferebat seipsum manibus suis: ergo non solum figuram.

Ridlæus:—Ferebat quidem seipsum, sed in sacramento; et Augustinus postremo addit "quodammodo," id est, sacramentaliter.

Smithus:—Tu non intelligis, quid Augustinus senserit, quum dicit "quodammodo." Sensit enim, se portasse in cœna illa suum verum corpus, non in figura et forma corporis, sed sub specie panis. Ergo hic teneris medius, nec possis te extricare ex hoc labyrintho.

(57) *Treshamus:—Hic exorsus est dicere, magno, ut videbatur, zelo commotus: et pro Paphnutio sese a me haberi postulavit, atque ut ad matrem ecclesiam redirem vehementer orabat. Ego sane*[1] *initio, quia*[2] *hominem non cognovi, arbitrabar fuisse*[2] *seniculum qui haberet zelum Dei, licet non secundum scientiam: et illi cum omni mansuetudine et reverentia respondere cœpi: sed visus sum mihi postea sentire, sub ovina pelle delitescere vulpinam calliditatem. Argumentum ejus, quod magno molimine tandem in medium protulet, hoc erat:* Concilium, inquit, Lateranense, quod universalem[3] repræsentabat ecclesiam, in quo concilio congregati erant episcopi numero[4] 300, metropolitani 70, et reliquorum ingens multitudo, decrevit, quod panis et vinum virtute verbi divini transubstantiatur in corpus et sanguinem Domini. Ergo quicunque contradixerit, non potest esse filius ecclesiæ, sed hæreticus.

(58) *Ridlæus:*—Observande domine, audivi quæ citasti[5] ex Lateranensi concilio, et memini fuisse episcoporum et metropolitanorum, uti dixisti, magnam multitudinem: sed non ostendisti, quot fuerunt in[6] eo concilio fratres priores conventuales: fuerunt enim 800. *Tunc quidam ex scribis:* Quid, inquit ille mihi[6], visne[6] tu negare auctoritatem concilii illius, propter multitudinem illorum priorum? Nequaquam, inquam ego, adeo ob eam causam, quam quod doctrina illius concilii non congruit cum verbo Dei: id quod ex actis illius concilii

[1] Parker MS.—in.

[2] Parker MS.—*omits* quia and fuisse.

[3] Parker MS.—universam.

[4] Parker MS.—*omits* numero.

[5] Parker MS.—citavisti.

[6] Parker MS.—*omits* in eo, mihi, ne, and the clause between [ ].

constat, quod habitum est sub Innocentio III. viro, si historiis credendum est, ecclesiæ Christi et christianæ reipublicæ nocentissimo. Hic quidam clamabant[7], Scribite, scribite; et ego vicissim succinebam, Scribite et rescribite.

Treshamus:—Manducant mali verum et naturale corpus Christi: ergo verum et naturale corpus Christi est in sacramento altaris. (59)

Ridlæus:—Mali manducant verum et naturale corpus Christi tantum sacramento tenus, juxta Augustinum; boni vero manducant verum corpus et sacramentaliter et per gratiam, hoc est, spiritualiter. (60)

Vuestonus:—*Adducit canonem de cœna Domini ex concilio Niceno, et urgere volebat maxime quod ibi dicitur:* "*sed fide consideremus* [*κείμενον jacentem*[9]] *situm in mensa*[10] *agnum, tollentem peccata mundi.*" Situs, *inquit*, et positio corporis, plane declarant corporalem præsentiam corporis. (61)[8]

Ridlæus:—Nimis crasse cogitas de situ agni cœlestis in mensa Domini: non more enim humano putandus est, ut tu sentire videris, prostrato corpore jacere in mensa: sed omnia hic spiritualiter sunt intelligenda. Adest enim in mensa agnus ille cœlestis, fateor, sed præsentia spirituali et per gratiam, non autem secundum substantiam corpoream carnis assumptæ: et canon ipse manifeste docet panem esse materialem, qui in mensa proponitur; et proinde jubet, ne humiliter simus intenti ad ea quæ proponuntur[11] (9[12]. dist.) Ea quæ proponuntur, quid sunt aliud (quantum ad substantiam) quam panis et vinum? sed exaltata mente, fide consideremus situm esse in mensa agnum tollentem peccata mundi; fides enim exaltata videt illum, qui sedet ad dexteram Patris secundum verum corporis modum, per gratiam in mensa Dominica situm et tollentem peccata mundi. (62)

Alius:—Universa ecclesia græcorum et latinorum [14]Ori- (63)

[13] Alius, incognitus mihi, vel cujus jam non memini.

[7] Parker MS.—has *quidem clamabant.*

[8] (61) Parker MS.—the name of Watson is prefixed.

[9] Parker MS.—[ ] omitted.

[10] Parker MS.—inserts *vel jacentem.*

[11] Parker MS.—omits *ea quæ proponuntur.*

[12] Parker MS.—quasi dicat.

[13] This marginal note as well as the word 'alius' prefixed is omitted in the Parker MS.

[14] Parker MS.—orientalis et occidentalis.

entis et Occidentis consenserunt in concilio Florentino unanimiter in doctrina eucharistiæ, quod sit in sacramento altaris verum et reale corpus Christi. Ergo tu dissentis ab universa ecclesia.

(64) *Ridlæus:*—Nego[1] et ecclesiam Orientis aut in concilio Florentino aut unquam alias consensisse cum Romanensi ecclesia, in doctrina de transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi. Nihil enim in concilio Florentino cum Romanis[2] ea de re Græci decernere voluerunt: licet hactenus, fateor, ibidem convenerunt, ut liberum esset utrique ecclesiæ receptum suum morem servare in pane azymo vel fermentato. Hic rursus

(65)[3] *Doctor Coleus clamat:*—Imo convenerunt de transubstantiatione panis in corpus Christi.

(66) *Ridlæus pernagat:—Iterum incognitus mihi quidam e scribarum numero, ut*[4] *opinor:* Nihil ibi de transubstantiatione decreverunt, sed eam materiam, tanquam ecclesiarum concordiæ minime convenientem, intractatam reliquerunt. Quem vera dixisse Ridlæus confirmabat.

(67) *Vuestonus*:—Chrysost. homil. xx. in 1 Corinth. "Id nos adoramus, quod Magi in præsepi adoraverunt:" sed Magi adoraverunt in præsepi positum verum et naturale corpus Christi[5]: ergo, etc., et rursus ibidem: Non hic Dominum [6](inquit Chrysost.) in præsepi, sed in altari, nec mulierem in ulnis tenentem, sed sacerdotem.

(68) *Ridlæus:*—Adoramus nos, fateor, eundem verum Dominum et Servatorem mundi, quem adoravevunt Magi in præsepi: nos, inquam, adoramus eundem in mysterio et in sacramento cœnæ Dominicæ, sed hic eum adoramus spirituali libertate, ut ait Augustinus lib. iii. doct. Christianæ, non carnali servitute: hoc est, non adoramus serviliter signa pro rebus, quod esset (ut ille ait) servilis infirmitatis, sed mente in cœlum elevata

[1] Parker MS.—inserts *Græcos.*

[2] Parker MS.—Romanensi.

[3] (65) Parker MS.—Hic Colus clamat.

[4] Parker MS.—inserts *dixit* and omits *ut opinor,* and the word London is inserted in the margin at this speech, Nihil ibi, &c.

[5] Parker MS.—*adoraverunt* comes in at the end of the sentence after *Christi.*

[6] Parker MS.—this (inquit Chrysost.) is omitted.

illum sursum sedentem qui ab angelis adoratur, eundem nos oculis fidei præsentem secundum gratiam et spiritualiter, in mensa sua assidentem, intuemur et adoramus: "assistit enim semper Christus in suis mysteriis," [7][ut habet Augustinus, "et divina majestas"] (ut ait Cyprianus) "nunquam se absentat divinis mysteriis": sed hæc assidentia et præsentia Christi, quemadmodum in baptismo, tota spiritualis est[8], et per gratiam, non autem per carnis corporalem substantiam; ita plane se habet et in mensa Domini legitime et juxta verbum Dei rite administrata[9].

Prolocutor:—Sub finem D. prolocutor hostiliter in me debacchatus est, inimicum hominem palam appellans, præfractum et singularis audaciæ. Clamabat etiam, hæreses jam sub ipsorum conspectu protritas et conculcatas: quamobrem omnes vehementer inhortabatur ad epinicion, id est carmen victoriale, concelebrandum, ipso D. prolocutore voce præeunte inclamando, Vicit veritas, vicit veritas.

Atque ad hunc modum, triumphali applausu et celebri acclamatione sanctissima sacrificorum et dominorum doctorum, qui pro aris et focis, pro laribus et diis penatibus strenue dimicassent, terminata est hæc gloriosa disputatio.

Ridlæus ad Lectorem.

Hæc, amice lector, bona fide scripsimus, non quod istæc eadem omnia, vel eisdem aut ordine aut forma verborum, me in scholis dixisse affirmaverim: nequaquam enim hoc dixerim: erat enim hoc tum impossibile: ita eram tum, tanquam ursus catenatus, molossorum multitudine undique allatrantium circumdatus et exagitatus: sed quod sciam, me ista aut ejus generis consimillima habuisse: et interdum credo istis, pro ea quæ tum mihi oblata est dicendi tunc occasio, etiam com-

[7] Parker MS.—this clause in brackets is omitted.

[8] Parker MS.—est.

[9] After this the Parker MS. finishes with the following sentence:

Post disputationem cum Ridlæo Vuestonus hæc habuit verba:

Vidistis, viri fratres, præfactum hæresis nimirum animum, vidistis obstinatam audaciam; vidistis inexpugnabilem, illabefactatam*, inconcussam victricem veritatem. Vestræ ergo partes erunt, hæreses expugnatas prædicare, victoriamque virtuti tribuere, et uno applausu clamare: Vicit Veritas.

* So in the Parker MS. apparently for *illabefactam*.

modiora. Nam Deo sint gratiæ, cujus hoc singulare beneficium fuisse agnosco, nunquam mihi aut ingenium præsentius, aut lingua promptius alicui negotio, quam illi disputationi inseruisse sunt visa. Unde, amice lector, quicquid antehac legisti aut audisti, quod ad illam nostram disputationem pertinet, vel posthac quicquid contigerit te legere aut audire a quocunque descriptum vel relatum, quod vel cum his quæ jam scripsi repugnabit, vel in sensu et in summa non consenserit, id universum scias esse falsum, et vel ab imperito et indocto scriba, qui meas responsiones non bene intellexerit; vel oscitante, qui non satis diligenter attenderit; vel ab invido et malitioso papista, qui hostis est Dei et veritatis, esse profectum.

Deus misereatur nostri, et benedicat nobis: illuminet vultum suum super nos, et misereatur nostri:

Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam, in omnibus gentibus salutare tuum.

Scias insuper, amice lector, D. prolocutorem mihi in scholis inter disputandum publice promisisse, ut viderem responsiones meas quomodo essent a notariis exceptæ, et ut haberem facultatem easdem supplendi et perficiendi, aut etiam commutandi, si quid postea visum foret commodius, quod propositis argumentis respondere vellem. Promisit etiam mihi locum et tempus publice danda, in quibus libere omnia quæ vellem in confirmationem mearum responsionum liceret adducere: hæc omnia cum publice promisisset in auditu reliquorum commissariorum et totius scholæ Oxoniensis, scias, inquam, eum nihil horum in veritate præstitisse. Quid igitur fidei istiusmodi hominibus, et ubi tales sunt judices, habendum sit in arcanis mysteriis Dei, qui in suis promissis tam palam factis, tam justo jure debitis, et in tam seriis rebus, neque Deum neque homines veriti, fidem fallere non erubescunt, ego prudentiorum judicio judicandum esse relinquo. Et nunc quid restat, nisi ut precemur, ut Deus ecclesiæ suæ Anglicanæ misereri velit, ut ipsa aliquando clare videat et amplectatur avide in facie Jesu Christi voluntatem Patris cœlestis; et ut grassantes lupos et impostores gravissimos, qui tam misere gregem suam dilaniant et dementant, vel pro sua infinita bonitate transformet in fideles pastores, aut pro æquissimo suo judicio ab ovili suo, ne amplius oves Christi contur-

bare et dissipare valeant, quam citissime abscindat: Amen, amen: et qui habet spiritum Christi (ut ait Johannes) dicat, Amen.

Scias postremo, cum D. Prolocutor proposuisset nobis tres propositiones, et jussisset singulis parari a nobis responsionem, post habitam unam duntaxat hujusmodi disputationem cum unoquoque nostrum de prima tantum propositione, absque ulteriore delatione, et antequam de reliquis duabus propositionibus meas (scis) responsiones vel accepisset vel audisset mihi (nisi quod in die quo tulit in nos sententiam, interrogavit simul omnes, utrum vellemus eis, ea forma qua proponebantur, simpliciter subscribere) condemnavit nos omnes, me dico, Cranmerum et Latimerum (patres in Christo reverendissimos, et nunc atque in æternum mihi fratres charissimos) horrendissimæ hæreseos criminis de omnibus illis tribus propositionibus, et sejunctos ab invicem atque in diversis locis distractos tradidit servandos in diem combustionis, ablatis prius a nobis propriis nostris famulis, ablatis postea (cum abiret) calamo, charta et atramento: atque hunc in modum cum D. Prolocutor Londinum ab Oxonia reverteretur, et ego hæc describerem, dimissi sumus. Omnipotens Deus, qui causas humilium respicit, et solvere consuevit gemitus compeditorum; ipse jam dignetur causam ecclesiæ suæ Anglicanæ respicere, atque ejus malis omnibus, pro sua immensa misericordia, finem brevi imponere dignetur. Amen.

SPEECHES

FROM THE PARKER MS. IN THE LIBRARY OF CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

(7) *Vuestonus*:—Ego ostendam vobis quid per realem Christi præsentiam intelligimus. Intelligimus semper ipsissimi corporis veram et corporalem præsentiam.

(8) *Smithus hic allegabat canonem, quem dicebat esse Niceni concilii, per transubstantiationem est carnalis Christi præsentia in eucharistia; cujus canonis verborum non memini, sed prorsus similis erat canoni de eadem re Lateranensis concilii. Quamobrem negabam talem extare canonem in Niceno concilio.*

(9) *Colus*:—Non est tamen Niceni concilii, sed est Ephesiani.

(10) *Ridleius*:—Negabam ullum talem canonem extare aut in Ephesiano, Niceno, Calcedonensi aut Constantinopolitano. Nam quid concilium Ephesianum habeat ea de re, bene memini.

(11) *Colus*:—Afferatur liber.

(12) *Ridleius*:—Afferatur, nusquam inveniemus. *Tum quidam qui sedebat ad mensam inter scribas, cujus nomen ignoro, dicebat esse in aliquo alio concilio ex recentioribus, et sic itum est ad alia.*

(13) *Smithus*:—Chrysostomus homil. xvii. ad Hebræos. Christus multis locis offertur, hic plenus Christus et illic plenus, unum corpus et una est hostia, non multæ: ergo cum potest esse in multis simul locis, potest esse simul et in eodem temporis momento in cœlo et in terra.

(14) *Ridleius*:—Concedo cum Chrysostomo, "una est hostia, et non multæ." Et una est nostra hostia ab unitate illius unicæ, quam unam omnes nostræ repræsentant: illa autem unica fuit, ea quæ semel duntaxat oblata est in ara crucis, cujus omnes nostræ sunt sacramentalia exemplaria. Et quod dixit Chrysostomus Christum in multis locis simul offerri, hic plenus Christus et illic plenus Christus, verum est quoque Christum offerri multis in locis, sed in mysterio et sacramentaliter, et plenum

esse in omnibus illis locis, non secundum corporalem assumptæ carnis substantiam, sed secundum benedictionem vivificationis in pane et vino, ut ait Cyrillus, et ad oblationem attinet, cujus meminit; hic Chrysostomus ipsemet quid sentiat clarissime explicat, per correctionem dicens, Idipsum semper facimus, magis autem recordatione sacrificii operamur.

[Vide p. 458.]

Harpsfeldus:—Chrysostomus ad populum Antiochenum, Hom. ii. "Helias correptus in cœlum curru igneo, clamidem demisit suo discipulo Helisæo, nec simul secum habere potuit: Christus ascendit in cœlum, et veram carnem secum assumpsit, et nobiscum in terris reliquit, sed non reliquit nisi in sacramento altaris:" ergo, &c. (17)

[Vide p. 460.]

Harpsfeldus:—Hilarius ait, Deus neminem fallit vocabulis, qui est ipsa veritas: verum ergo est quod dicit, dicit autem "hoc est corpus meum," ergo est corpus Christi. (23)

Ridleius:—Concedo tibi hæc omnia. (24)

Harpsfeldus:—Quid tradidit Christus discipulis in cœna? (25)

Ridleius:—Panem, corpus suum. (26)

Harpsfeldus:—Tradidit illud quod jussit eos accipere, sed jussit eos accipere corpus suum, et non panem; ergo corpus erat quod tradidit, non panis. (27)

[Vide p. 464.]

Oglethorpus:—Disparatum de disparato non potest prædicari: ut homo non est lapis, ita panis non potest esse corpus Christi. (29)

Ridleius:—In propriis locutionibus non potest, concedo, sed in tropicis, qualis hæc locutio Christi in verbis cœnæ, "hoc," id est "hic panis" est corpus meum, bene potest, sicut ibi, Johannes est Helias, petra erat Christus. Christus etiam dicit de se, Ego sum vitis, etc. (30)

Vuestonus:—Theophylactus in Johannem vi. ait, Fit conversio panis in carnem Dominicam, et quod illud quod Christus dedit, nos damus: illud autem non erat figura corporis, sed corpus ipsum. (31)

De Theophylacti auctoritate quid sentiebat Ridleius non explicavit, neque enim admodum potuit tam multorum vociferationibus exagitatus. Respondet simpliciter ad propositum locum Theophylacti, Concedo, *inquit,* panem converti in carnem (32)

Christi, sed non per transubstantiationem, sed per sacramentalem conversionem, transformatur, inquit Theophylactus ibidem, per mysticam benedictionem et accessionem spiritus sancti in carnem Domini; non dicit per expressionem substantiæ panis, et substitutione corporalis substantiæ carnis Domini. Et quod dicit "non est figura corporis," subintelligendum est quod ipse aliud addit, viz. tantum. Hoc est, non est nuda figura corporis, assistit enim Christus suis mysteriis, neque unquam, ut Cyprianus ait, "Divina majestas sese absentat a divinis mysteriis."

(33)[1] *Hardingus:*—[*Hic sedebat ad mensam inter scribas:*] *qui sibi vindicabat linguæ Græcæ, ut videbatur, notitiam, allegabat ex Theophylacto verbum Græcum, quod vertitur, transubstantiatur:* hoc verbum, *inquit*, importat substantiæ in substantiam conversionem. Ergo substantia panis convertitur in substantiam corporis Christi.

(34) *Ridleius negat verbum illud Græcum eam vim habere, et citabat ex eodem Theophylacto alium locum, in quo idem Theophylactus utitur eodem verbo, dicens*, nos transubstantiari in carnem Christi, sed absurdum est nos transubstantiari in carnem Christi.

(35) *Hardingus:*—Christus dedit nobis suam veram carnem manducandam, sed nunquam eam dedit manducandam nisi in ultima cœna et in sacramento altaris: ergo ibi est vera Christi caro.

[Vide p. 465.]

(41) *Vuatsonus:*—Joh. vi. Qui manducat meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in eo: de qua manducatione intelligis esse dictum?

(42) *Ridleius:*—De spirituali manducatione.

(43) [2][Quidam] Quæro an eucharistia sit sacrum a Domino institutum in ultima sua cœna cum discipulis suis.

(44) *Ridleius:*—Concedo hæc omnia ita se habere.

(45)[3] *Vuatsonus:*—Quid est sacramentum?

(46) *Ridleius:*—Tritum est illud Augustini. Est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma: alioquin quomodo sacramentum a multis scriptoribus varie accipitur, credo tibi non esse ignotum.

[1] (33) Compare p. 465.

[2] The name of the speaker is omitted.

[3] (45) See p. 471.

Vuatsonus:—Eucharistia est sacramentum novi testamenti, habet ergo promissionem gratiæ: sed nulla promissio facta est pani et vino, ergo panis et vinum non sunt sacramenta novi testamenti. (47)

Ridleius:—Concedo ad eucharistiam pertinere gratiam juxta illud "panis quem frangimus" nomen[4] communicatum, etc. et sicut qui edit et bibit indigne sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini, reus est corporis et sanguinis, et judicium sibi manducat et bibit; ita sane qui digne comedit et bibit, manducat vitam et bibit vitam: concedo etiam quod nulla promissio facta est pani et vino, quatenus sunt panis et vinum, verum quatenus sanctificantur et fiunt sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Domini, habent annexam promissionem gratiæ, nimirum communicationis spiritualis corporis Christi communicandæ et largiendæ, non pani aut vino, sed iis qui digne mysteria participant. (48)

Vuatsonus:—Unus panis et unum corpus multi sumus omnes, qui de uno pane participamur: quæro, quomodo? intelligisne de uno pane materiali, an divino corpore naturali Christi? (49)

Ridleius:—De uno pane materiali, quod sacramentaliter est corpus Christi: nam ecclesia diu consuevit uti uno pane in mensa Domini, et ille unus omnibus communicabatur: ita Dionisius vocat panem individuam, et Cyprianus testatur illum saginari[5] corpus nostrum. (50)

Vuatsonus:—Quomodo possunt omnes de uno pane participare? (51)

[Vide p. 473.]

[4] MS.—nom.

[5] Probably for *saginare.*

APPENDIX II.

Articles[1], *jointly and severally ministered to* Dr Ridley *and* Master Latimer, *by the Pope's Deputy.*

From Fox, *Acts and Monuments,* 1st Edition.

In Dei nomine, amen. Nos Iohannes Lincolniensis, Iacobus Glocestrensis, et Iohannes Bristollensis, episcopi, per reverendissimum dominum Reginaldum, miseratione divinâ S. Mariæ in Cosmedin sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ diaconum Cardinalem, "Polum nuncupatum," sanctissimi domini nostri papæ, et sedis apostolicæ, ad serenissimos Philippum et Mariam Angliæ reges et ad universum Angliæ regnum legatum, authoritate sufficiente delegati ad inquirendum de quodam negotio inquisitionis hereticæ pravitatis contra et adversus Hugonem Latimerum et Nicholaum Ridleyum (pro episcopis Vigornensi et Londoniensi se respective gerentes), specialiter delegati et contra et adversus eorum quemlibet inquirendo, proponimus et articulamur conjunctim et divisim, prout sequitur.

1. In primis N. R. tibi objicimus, quod tu in hac alma universitate Oxon. An. Domini 1554, mensibus vero Aprilis, Maii, Junii, Julii, aut earum quolibet uno sive aliquo, ac multis aliis locis et temporibus, asseruisti, affirmasti, ac palam, publice et pertinaciter defendisti, in sacramento altaris non esse realiter præsens, virtute verbi divini a sacerdote prolati, verum et naturale corpus Christi, neque naturalem ejus sanguinem.—Ponimus ut supra.

2. Item, quod anno, loco, mensibus prædictis tu asseruisti, affirmasti, ac palam, publice et pertinaciter defendisti, post consecrationem in sacramento altaris remanere substantiam panis et vini.—Ponimus ut supra.

3. Item, quod anno, loco, mensibus prædictis tu asseruisti, affirmasti, ac palam, publice, et pertinaciter defendisti, in massa

[1 These Articles are "ministered" to both Ridley and Latimer in the preamble, but in the articles themselves N. R. only is accused. Ed.]

non esse vivificum ecclesiæ sacrificium pro salute vivorum et mortuorum propitiabile.—Ponimus ut supra.

4. Item, quod prædictæ assertiones tuæ anno, loco, et mensibus prædictis fuerunt publice et solemniter sententiâ scholastica condemnatæ ut hereticæ, verbo Dei et catholicæ fidei contrariæ per venerabilem virum Hugonem Weston, Sacræ Theologiæ Professorem, tunc prolocutorem convocationis cleri provinciæ Cantuariensis, et alios nonnullos doctissimos viros, tam convocationem prædictam quam utramque universitatem Oxon. et Cantabrig. respective representantes. —Ponimus ut supra.

5. Item, quod omnia et singula præmissa sunt vera, publica, notoria pariter ac famosa; et de prædictis omnibus et singulis, tam in universitate Oxon. quam aliis in locis vicinis et remotis, laborarunt, et adhuc laborant, publica vox et fama.—Ponimus ut supra.

APPENDIX III.

HARL. MS. 416, fol. 132.

DR TURNER *Dean of Wells to* MR FOX *concerning his Book of Martyrs: and some Intelligence of his knowledge of* BP. RIDLEY.

SALVE, Frater in Christo longe charissime. Quanquam non sum nescius te Spiritu Dei non mediocriter esse ditatum: talem tamen cum semper ab eo tempore quo inter nos familiaritas aliqua intercessit, fuisse intellexi, ut non illibenter fratrum tuorum admonitionibus obtemperares; quum mihi e longis meis peregrinationibus in variis provinciis multorum de libro tuo, quem de martyribus nostratibus conscripsisti, judicia explorata mihi sint, non feres moleste, opinor, si quod accepi in apertum tibi produxero. Inter omnes quos de libro tuo loquentes audivi, neminem uspiam reperi qui non, ut argumentum, ita felicitatem et dexteritatem tuam in argumento

tractando, summis laudibus evexerint. Verum ex tenuioribus non pauci de magnitudine pretii libri conquesti sunt. Qui ut, juxta Christi verbum, jure quodam suo ex promisso scripturæ evangelium sibi vendicant, ita præ inopia non suppetentibus sumptibus, non possunt libros evangelicos sibi comparare; quum divites plerique ad ostentationem, quo evangelici videri possint, sibi comparent. Quare mihi et nonnullis aliis eodem spiritu afflatis magis ex re vera Christianorum esse visum est ut, papistarum nominibus et historiis deletis, (quorsum enim in libris tuis eorum fieret mentio, qui nullum habent locum in libro vitæ?) et ea sola in libro tuo commemorentur, quæ ad vere martyres pertinerent, superfluis et multis Latine recitatis, quæ per te Anglicè redduntur, resectis. Aquilam volare doceret, qui tibi ostenderet quænam ut minus lectu necessaria expungenda essent. Typographus fere quisque mavult libros suos esse magnos ob magnum suum quæstum, quam misello et parvo gregi Christi utiles et facile parabiles. Utinam tam lautus tibi victus suppeteret, ut non cogaris miseris, avaris, gloriosis et amusis librariis servire! Audio enim te maligne a tuo domino, ne quid durius dicam, tractatum esse. Si res secus habeat, abs te discere cupio.

Ridleius. De Ridleio plura dicere possum et certiora quam tu in libro tuo commemorasti, ut qui in eadem provincia, qua ille, primos ediderim vagitus, et illi in collegio Pembrochiano ad multos annos fui collega et in theologicis exercitamentis antagonista. Is erat in Northumbria mea natus, et e nobili Ridleiorum prosapia prognatus.

Alter patruorum armatæ militiæ eques auratus fuit, alter erat theologiæ doctor, Roberti Ridleii nomine, non solum Cantabrigiæ, sed et Parisiis ubi diu studuerat, et scriptis Polydori Vergilii per totam Europam notissimus. Hujus doctoris sumptibus est Nicolaus noster diu Cantabrigiæ, postea Parisiis, postremo Lavanii sustentatus: post reditum ejus a gymnasiis ultramarinis ad multos annos nobiscum in collegio Pembrochiano vixit; sed tandem ad Cantuariensem episcopum a nobis avocatus est, cui fideliter servivit, et tandem ad episcopalis dignitatis fastigium evectus est. Vicus in quo natus erat Wilowmontiswik appellatur: porro Willowmont Northumbriensium linguâ anatem rupestrem significat; wik vero sig-

nificat vicum aut pagum, ut in Anwico et Berwico videre licet et in Crowyke. De ejus memoria, multiplici linguarum et artium cognitione, quanquam ipse testis esse possum locupletissimus (nam me primus Græcæ linguæ pleniori cognitione instruebat), citra meum testimonium plerique omnes Cantabrigienses, quibus satis erat notus, testari volunt et possunt. Quam fuerit in quavis materia confutanda aut expugnanda fortis, sine tamen ulla jactantia aut armorum strepitu, non solum ego, sed omnes quibuscum congressus est, (modo gloriæ quam par erat sitientiores intellexerit, hos enim fortius opprimebat) facile senserunt. Moribus erat longe placidissimis et citra hypocrisim aut monasticam austeritatem sanctissimis. Arcu enim et pila palmaria sæpissime sese mecum exercuit. Beneficentiæ ejus in pauperes si nullus alius [testis] existat, ego hoc omnibus testatum volo, illum antequam ad ullam ecclesiasticam dignitatem evectus esset, me secum comitem ad proximum nosodochium duxisse; et quum mihi quod pauperibus erogarem non suppeteret, præterea quæ ipse largiter pro facultatum suarum modo distribuerat, mihi quod pauperibus conferrem sæpe suppeditavit. Quantum subsidii in carcere adhuc agens, nobis in Germania exulantibus, ex Anglia emiserit, doctissimus vir, ejus veluti fidus Achates, Doctor Edmundus Grendalus, nunc Londinensis episcopus, testari potest, et alii multi qui ipsius liberalitate fuere sublevati. Qualis ergo vir quum fuerit, doctissimus nimirum, castissimus, et omnibus modis sanctissimus, quam inclementes, feros et crudeles habuit tum Anglia tam reges quam episcopos, qui conjunctis consiliis in mortem ejus conspiraverunt, et tortoribus vivum exurendum tradiderunt, ob nullum aliud flagitium, quam quod Christo vero homini in cœlo firmam sedem et non vagam, et in terris supremum gubernaculum illi contra Romanum Antichristum asseruerit. O gravia scelera, ob quæ tam illustris Christi propheta et episcopus tam gravi supplicio afficeretur! Vos qui in mortem ejus conspirastis, dum adhuc vivitis, resipiscite, et tyrannidem vestram coram omnibus agnoscite et confitemini, et veniam a Deo omnipotente multis precibus efflagitate, ne propter vestrum horrendum scelus universum hoc regnum pœnas luat gravissimas.

Doctor Taylerus, qui Hadlei exustus est, in Northumbria etiam natus est in oppido Rothberry, non procul a Riddis- Taylerus.

dalia. Cum hoc homine ad multos annos vixi familiarissime, et ut evangelicam doctrinam amplecteretur, hortator eram minime segnis; et ut facilius nobiscum sentiret, "Unionem Dissidentium" clanculum illi paravi, quo et Latimeri concionibus inescatus, in doctrinam nostram pedibus ivit facillime.

Latimerus. Si de Latimero plura scire cupias quam in libro tuo scripta sunt, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et doctor Lancelotus Ridleius te satis possunt instruere. Hoc me valde male habet, quod sanctissimi martyris domini Thorpii liber non sit ea lingua Anglice conscriptus, qua eo tempore quo ipse vixit tunc tota Anglia est usa. Nam talis antiquitatis sum admirator, ut ægerrime feram talis antiquitatis thesauros nobis perire; quo nomine haud magnam apud me gratiam inierunt qui Petrum Aratorem, Gowerum et Chaucerum, et similis farinæ homines, in hanc turpiter mixtam linguam, neque vero Anglicam neque pure Gallicam, transtulerunt. Recte igitur, me judice, facturus es si alicunde Thorpii autographum nancisci possis, ea lingua edas qua ille conscripserit. Expendes quæso in quorum potissimum gratiam librum conscripseris. Quo facto non dubito, licet typographus insaniat, quin librum ad veræ ecclesiæ utilitatem majorem sis editurus. Nam, tum inutilibus et superfluis resectis, libri pretium non ultra X^s excrescet.

Vale, frater charissime. Welliæ, Novem. 26.

Tuus Gulielmus
Turnerus.

To his welbelovyd brother
Master Fox precher of
Goddis word be this
delyvered in
London.

HARL. MS. 416, fol. 132.

E Cod. Mus. Brit.

MY most dear brother in Christ, I greet you well. Though I am not ignorant that you are in no mean degree endowed with the Spirit of God; yet as, since that time when any intimacy arose between us, I have always understood you to be one, who would not unwillingly listen to the admonitions of your brethren; and as, in my long wanderings through many provinces, the opinions of many concerning the book which you have written of our martyrs, have been ascertained by me, you will not, I think, take it ill, if I openly state to you what I have heard. Among all those whom I have heard speaking of your book, I have nowhere found any one who did not with the greatest praises commend, not the subject only, but also your felicity and dexterity in treating it. But of the poorer sort not a few have complained of the greatness of the price of the book, who, though according to the saying of Christ they have a sort of special right to the Gospel in virtue of a certain scripture promise, yet on account of poverty, not having the means, cannot procure for themselves evangelical books, while rich men, for the most part, out of ostentation do procure them, that they may seem evangelical. On which account it has seemed to me, and to some others influenced by the same spirit, that it would be more to the advantage of Christians, if, the names and histories of papists being erased (for why should mention be made in your book of those who have no place in the book of life?) and many things superfluous and related in Latin, which by you are translated in English, being cut out, those things alone should be commemorated in your book which regard those truly martyrs. It would be like teaching the eagle to fly, to shew you what things might be expunged, as less necessary to be read. Almost every printer would rather have his books large for the sake of his own profit, than useful to, and easily attainable by, the small and

Isaiah lxi. Matth. xi. 5.

poor flock of Christ. I would that you had so competent a provision, that you might not be compelled to serve mean, avaricious, vain, and illiterate booksellers; for I hear that you have been malignantly treated by your master, to call him by no harsher name. If the case be otherwise, I desire to hear it from you.

Of Ridley I can give more and more certain intelligence than you have preserved in your book. For I first drew my breath in the same province with him, and in Pembroke college was for many years his companion, and in our theological exercises his opponent.

He was born in my own county of Northumberland, and descended from the noble stock of the Ridleys. One of his uncles was a knight; the other, Robert Ridley by name, a doctor in divinity, not only of Cambridge but also of Paris, where he long studied, and became known, through the writings of Polydore Vergil, throughout all Europe.

At the expense of this doctor was our Ridley maintained first at Cambridge, then at Paris, and afterwards at Louvain. After his return from the foreign universities he lived with us many years in Pembroke college; but at length he was called away from us to the archbishop of Canterbury, whom he faithfully served, and was at last elevated to the height of the episcopal dignity.

The village in which he was born is called Willowmontswick. Now Willowmont, in the Northrumbrian language, signifies a wild duck[1], or duck of the rocks; and wick signifies village or hamlet, as may be seen in Aln-wick, and Ber-wick, and in Cro-wick. As to his memory and manifold knowledge of arts and languages, though I might myself be an abundant witness (for he first instructed me in a fuller knowledge of the Greek language), yet beyond my testimony almost all Cambridge men, to whom he was well enough known, will and can bear witness to it. How strong he was in confuting or overthrowing any [false] argument, yet without any vain glory or parade of his learning, not

[1 "Colymbus Troile. This bird is called *Guillem* by the Welsh, *Guillemot* or *Sea Hen* in Northumberland and Durham, in the Southern parts *Willocks*." Donovan's British Birds, vol. ii. plate xxviii. He further describes it as frequenting the coasts and the *rocks*. Ed.]

only I, but all those who encountered him, plainly felt, unless indeed those whom he deemed more eager for glory than is meet (for such he repressed). In his manners he was most placid and saintly, yet without any hypocrisy or monastic severity; for very often he would exercise himself with me both with the bow and at hand ball[2].

Of his beneficence towards the poor, if there were no other witness, I desire to bear my public testimony, that before he had arrived at any ecclesiastical dignity, he would take me with him to the nearest hospital, and when I had not wherewithal to give to the poor, he, in addition to what he largely for his means distributed, would often supply me with somewhat to bestow upon them. How much assistance, even when in prison, he sent out of England to us who were exiles in Germany, that most learned man, and, as it were, his *fidus Achates*, Doctor Edmund Grindall, now bishop of London, can testify, and many others who were relieved by his liberality. Such a kind of man, then, as this was—most learned, most chaste, and in every sense most holy—what fierce, inclement, and cruel persons did England at that time contain; as well sovereigns as bishops; who, taking counsel together, conspired his death and gave him up to the torturers to be burned, for no other crime than because against the Roman antichrist he asserted for Christ, as very man, a fixed, and not a shifting seat in heaven; and on earth the supreme government! Oh heavy crimes, on account of which so illustrious a prophet and bishop of Christ was afflicted with so heavy a penalty! You who conspired his death, while you yet live, repent, and before all men acknowledge and confess your tyranny, and seek with many prayers pardon of Almighty God, lest, on account of your horrible wickedness, this whole realm should suffer the most severe punishments.

Doctor Taylor, who was burnt at Hadley, was born also

[2 Hand-Ball, called by the French "Jeu de paume" (Palm-Play), and in Latin "Pila Palmaria." It may be denominated *hand tennis*, still played under a different name, and probably a different modification of the game, resembling that now called Fives. Strutt's Sports and Pastimes of the People of England, book II. chap. 3, p. 73—75. Ed.]

in Northumberland, in the town of Rothbury, not far from
[a] Redesdale. Ridesdale[a]. With this man I lived for many years on terms of intimacy, and used to exhort him zealously to embrace the evangelical doctrine; and that he might the more easily come to think with ourselves, I secretly procured for him the "Unio Dissidentium[1]," with which and with the sermons of Latimer he was so taken, that he entered with readiness into our doctrine. If you desire to know more particulars of Latimer than are written in your book, the archbishop of Canterbury and Doctor Lancelot Ridley can inform you. I greatly regret that the book of that most holy martyr Thorp[2] is not edited in the old English, which was in general use at the time in which he lived. For so great an admirer am I of antiquity, that I could ill bear treasures of such antiquity to perish from amongst us. On which account I feel no great obligations to those persons, who have translated Piers Plowman[3], Gower, and Chaucer, and authors of a similar stamp into a mongrel language, neither true English nor pure French. In my opinion, therefore, you will do well, if you can any where find the autograph copy of Thorp, to edit it in that language in which he wrote. Consider, I pray you, for whose sake chiefly you have written your book; which if you do, I doubt not that, though the printer will be

[1] The "Unio Dissidentium Tripartita" was an important book at the period of the Reformation; as is plain from its being included in a short list of books prohibited by Cuthbert Tunstall, A.D. 1527. See Wilkins. We find also—"The abridgment of 'Unio Dissidentium', translated out of Latin into English" in an Index Prohibitorius given by Fox sub an. 1546: and among the books Incertorum Auctorum prohibited by the Roman Inquisition in their index, Romæ, 1559, and by Sixtus V., A.D. 1589, occurs the "Unio Dissidentium Tripartita." It was a continental production, being mentioned in the sentence on Richard Bayfield, Martyr, (sub an. 1531,) among various books imported by him. See Fox. ED.]

[2] This refers to the history of William Thorpe's persecution, written by himself. Fox published it in his Acts and Monuments, altered in its language by William Tyndale; he states, however, his regret at not being able to exhibit it in its original diction, and adds that a "Mr Whitehead" (then living) "had seen the true ancient copy in the hands of George Constantine." ED.]

[3] Piers Plowman or Ploughman. The proper title is "The Ploughman's Complaint against the abuses of the world." ED.]

enraged, you will put forth a book of greater utility to the true church; for, such useless and superfluous matters being omitted, the price of the book need not exceed ten shillings. Farewell, dearest brother.

Yours,

Wells, Nov. 26. WILLIAM TURNER.

APPENDIX IV.

Copy of the Letter of STEPHEN GARDINER *sent to* MASTER RIDLEY; *containing Matter and Objections against a certain Sermon of the said* MASTER RIDLEY, *made at the Court.*

From Fox, *Acts and Monuments.*

MASTER RIDLEY, after right hearty commendations: It chanced me, upon Wednesday last past, to be present at your sermon in the court, wherein I heard you confirm the doctrine in religion set forth by our late sovereign lord and master, whose soul God pardon! admonishing your audience that ye would specially travail in the confutation of the bishop of Rome's pretended authority in government and usurped power, and in pardons, whereby he hath abused himself in heaven and earth. Which two matters I note to be plain, and here without controversy. In the other two ye spake of, touching images and ceremonies, and as ye touched it, specially for holy water to drive away devils; for that you declared yourself always desirous to set forth the mere truth, with great desire of unity, as ye professed; not extending any your asseveration beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words, 'as far as ye had read,' and, 'if any man could shew you further, ye would hear him,' (wherein you were much to be commended)—upon these considerations, and for the desire I have to unity, I have thought myself bound to communicate to you that which I

have read in the matter of images and holy water; to the intent you may by yourself consider it, and so weigh, before that ye will speak in those two points, as ye may (retaining your own principles) affirm still that ye would affirm, and may indeed be affirmed and maintained; wherein I have seen others forget themselves. First, I send unto you herewith (which I am sure ye have read), what Eusebius[1] writeth of images: whereby appeareth, that images have been of great antiquity in Christ's church. And to say we may have images, or to call on them when they represent Christ or his saints, be over gross opinions to enter into your learned head, whatsoever the unlearned would tattle: for you know the text of the old law, *Non facies tibi sculptile*, forbiddeth no more images now, than another text forbiddeth to us puddings. And if *omnia* be *munda mundis* to the belly, there can be no cause why they should be of themselves *impura* to the eye, wherein ye can say much more. And then, when we have images, to call them idols is a like fault in fond folly, as if a man would call *regem* a tyrant, and then bring in old writers to prove that *tyrannus* signified once a king, like as *idolum* signified once an image: but like as *tyrannus* was by consent of men appropriated to signify a usurper of that dignity, and an untrue king, so hath *idolum* been likewise appropriate to signify a false representation, and a false image: insomuch as there was a solemn anathematization of all those that would call an image an idol; as he were worthy to be hanged that would call the king our master (God save him!)—our true just king, a tyrant; and yet in talk he might shew, that a tyrant signified sometimes a king: but speech is regarded in its present signification, which I doubt not ye can consider right well.

I verily think, that for the having of images ye will say enough; and that also, when we have them, we should not despise them in speech, to call them idols, nor despise them with deeds, to mangle them or cut them; but at the least suffer them to stand untorn. Wherein Luther (that pulled away all other regard to them) strove stoutly, and obtained,

[1] Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 18. Ed.]

as I have seen in divers of the churches in Germany of his reformation, that they should (as they do) still stand.

All the matter to be feared is excess in worshipping, wherein the church of Rome hath been very precise; and especially Gregory, writing to the bishop of Marseilles: which is contained in the chapter *De Consecratione*, dist. 3, as followeth:

'Perlatum ad nos fuerat, quod inconsiderato zelo succensus, sanctorum imagines sub hac quasi excusatione, ne adorari debuissent, confregeris. Et quidem eas adorari te vetuisse, omnino laudamus: fregisse vero reprehendimus. Dic, frater, a quo factum esse sacerdote aliquando auditum est, quod fecisti? * * * * * Aliud est enim picturam adorare; aliud per picturam historiam, quid sit adorandum, addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsâ etiam ignorantes vident, quid sequi debeant: in ipsâ legunt, qui literas nesciunt. Unde et præcipuè gentibus pro lectione pictura est[2].'

Herein is forbidden adoration, and then, in the Sixth Synod, was declared what manner of adoration is forbidden; that is to say, godly adoration to it being a creature, as is contained in the chapter *Venerabiles imagines*, in the same distinction, in this wise:

'Venerabiles imagines Christiani non Deos appellant, neque serviunt eis ut Diis, neque spem salutis ponunt in eis, neque ab eis expectant futurum judicium: sed ad memoriam et recordationem primitivorum venerantur eas et adorant; sed non serviunt eis cultu divino, nec alicui creaturæ[3].'

By which doctrine all idolatry is plainly excluded in evident words; so as we cannot say, that the worshipping of images had its beginning by popery; for Gregory forbade it, unless we shall call that synod popery, because there were so many bishops. And yet there is forbidden *cultus divinus;* and agreeth with our aforesaid doctrine, by which we may creep before the cross on Good Friday; wherein we have the image of the crucifix in honour, and use it in a

[2 See Corpus Juris Canonici a Pithæo. Paris, 1695, vol. i. p. 467. Ed.]

[3 Ibid. Ed.]

worshipful place, and so earnestly look on it, and conceive that [*which*] it signifieth, as we kneel and creep before it, whilst it lieth there, and whilst that remembrance is in exercise: with which cross nevertheless the sexton, when he goeth for a cross, will not be afraid to be homely, and holdeth it under his gown whilst he drinketh a pot of ale; a point of homeliness that might be left, but yet it declareth that he esteemed no divinity in the image. But ever since I was born, a poor parishioner, a layman, durst be so bold at a shift (if he were also churchwarden), to sell to the use of the church at length, and his own in the mean time, the silver cross on Easter Monday, that was creeped unto on Good Friday.

In specialties there have been special abuses; but, generally, images have been taken for images, with an office to signify a holy remembrance of Christ and his saints. And as the sound of speech uttered by a lively image, and representing to the understanding, by the sense of hearing, godly matter, doth stir up the mind, and therewith the body, to consent in outward gesture of worshipful regard to that sound: so doth the object of the image, by the sight, work like effect in man within and without; wherein is verily worshipped that we understand, and yet reverence and worship also shewed to that whereby we attain that understanding, and is to us in the place of an instrument; so as it hath no worship of itself, but remaineth in its nature of stone or timber, silver, copper, or gold. But when it is in office, and worketh a godly remembrance in us by representation of the thing signified unto us, then we use it worshipfully and honourably, as many do the priest at mass, whom they little regard all the day after.

And me thinketh ever, that like as it is an over gross error to take an image for God, or to worship it with godly honour, so to grant that we may not have images of Christ, and that we may do no worship before them, or not use them worshipfully, it is inexplicable. For it is one kind of worship, to place them worshipfully; so as if a man place an image in the church, or hang it about his neck (as all use to do the image of the cross, and the knights of the order of St George), this is some piece of worship. And if we may

not contemn the images of Christ and his saints, when we have them (for that were villany), nor neglect them (for that were to have them without use, which were inconvenient, *quia nec natura nec arte quicquam fit frustra*,) we must have them in estimation and reputation; which is not without some honour and worship; and at the least in the place where we conveniently use them (as in the church), as where they serve us rather than we them. And because their service is worshipful, they be so regarded accordingly for that time of service, and therefore they be called *venerabiles imagines*, and be worshipfully ordered; before whom we kneel, and bow, and cense, not at that the images be, but at that the images signify, which in our kneeling, bowing, and censing we acknowledge to understand and read in that fashion of contracted writing, wherein is wrapped up a great many of sentences, suddenly opened with one sudden sight, to him that hath been exercised in reading of them.

And me seemeth, after the faith of Christ received and known, and thoroughly purged from heresies, if by chance there were offered a choice, either to retain painting and graving and forbear writing, or, choosing writing, to forbear both the other gifts; it would be a problem, seeing if graving were taken away we could have no printing. And therefore they that press so much the words of *Non facies tibi sculptile*, ever, me thinketh, they condemn printed books; the original whereof is of graving to make *matrices literarum. Sed hoc est furiosum, et sunt tamen qui putant palmarium.* And therefore now it is Englished, "Thou shalt make no graven images, lest thou worship them:" which, I hear, is newly written in the new church, I know not the name, but not far from the Old Jewry[1].

But to the matter of images, wherein I have discoursed at large, I think, if ye consider (as I doubt not but that ye will) the doctrine set forth by our late sovereign lord, ye shall in the matter see the truth set forth by such as had that committed unto them under his highness, amongst whom I was not, nor was I privy unto it till it was done. And yet the clause in the book, for discussion of "the Lord," and "our Lord," hath made many think otherwise. But I

[1 Probably St Stephen's, Coleman Street. Ed.]

take our Lord to witness, I was not; and that declaration of "our Lord" was his highness's own device, *ex se*. For he saw the fond Englishing of "the Lord" dissevered in speech, whom our Lord had congregated. And this I add, lest, giving authority to that book, I should seem to vaunt myself.

Now will I speak somewhat of holy water[1], wherein I send unto you the four and thirtieth chapter in the ninth book of the History *Tripartite*, where Marcellus the bishop bade Equitius his deacon to cast abroad water, by him first hallowed, wherewith to drive away the devil. And it is noted how the devil could not abide the virtue of the water, but vanished away. And for my part, it seemeth the history may be true; for we be assured by Scripture, that in the name of God the church is able and strong to cast out devils, according to the gospel, *In nomine meo dæmonia ejicient, &c.*: so as if the water were away, by only calling on the name of God, that mastery may be wrought. And the virtue of the effect being only attributed to the name of God, the question should be only, whether the creature of water may have the office to convey the effect of the holiness of the invocation of God's name. And first, in Christ the skirt of his garment had such an office to minister health to the woman, and spittle and clay to the blind; and St Peter's shadow, and St Paul's handkerchiefs.

And, leaving old stories, here at home the special gift of curation, ministered by the kings of this realm (not of their own strength. but by invocation of the name of God), hath been used to be distributed in rings of gold and silver. And I think effectually therein the metal hath only an office, and the strength is in the name of God, wherein all is wrought. And Eliseus put his staff in like office. And why the whole church might not put water in like office, to convey abroad the invocation of God's name, there is no scripture to the contrary: but there is scripture, how other

[1] 'Holy water.' Consecration of water and salt to sanctify the people, is attributed to Alexander I. but for what credit is to be given to those decrees, falsely fathered upon those ancient bishops, read Sleidan, lib. ii. de Monach. 'In nomine meo,' &c. If the name of Christ only do and can serve to cast out devils, what should water do, where Christ only may and should serve to work that mastery? Fox.

inferior creatures have been promoted to like dignity; and much scripture, how water hath been used in like and greater service. And the story I send unto you sheweth how water hath been used in the same service, to drive away devils. In which matter if any shall say, he believeth not the story, and he is not bound to believe it, being no scripture; that man is not to be reasoned with, for the effect of the king's cramp rings. And yet, for such effect as they have wrought, when I was in France, I have been myself much honoured; and of all sorts entreated to have them, with offer of as much for them, as they were double worth.

Some will say, "What are rings to holy water?" Marry thus I say, If the metal of gold and silver may do service to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God effectually for one purpose, water may also serve to carry abroad the invocation of the name of God, wherewith to drive away devils. Hereto will be said, *Non valet argumentum a posse ad esse:* but the story saith, "The water did that service;" and other strangers say and affirm by experience, "The king's majesty's rings have done the service." And our late master continued all his life the exercise of that gift of God, and used silver and gold to do that service, to carry abroad the strength of the invocation of the name of God by him; and he used it amongst us that served him in it, when he had thoroughly heard and seen what might be said in the matter: and yet he had no scripture especially for it, that spake of rings of silver or gold, no more than is for the ashes ministered a little before ye last preached. And as our young sovereign lord hath received them reverently, so I trust he shall be advertised, *ne negligat gratiam Dei in dono curationum*, but follow his father therein; also not doubting but God will hear him, as he hath heard his father and other his progenitors, kings of this realm; to whose dignity God addeth this prerogative, as he doth also to inferior ministers of his church, in the effect of their prayer, when it pleaseth him. A man might find some youngling, percase[a], that would say, how worldly, wily, witty bishops have inveigled simple kings heretofore, and, to confirm their blessings, have also devised how kings should bless also, and so have authority to maintain where truth failed; and I have

[a] perchance.

had it objected to me, that I used to prove one piece of mine argument ever by a king, as when I reasoned thus: If ye allow nothing but scripture, what say you to the king's rings? but they be allowed; ergo, somewhat is to be allowed besides scripture. And another: If images be forbidden, why doth the king wear St George on his breast? But he weareth St George on his breast: ergo, images be not forbidden. If saints be not to be worshipped, why keep we St George's feast? But we keep St George's feast: ergo, &c. And in this matter of holy water, if the strength of the invocation of the name of God, to drive away the devils, cannot be distributed by water, why can it be distributed in silver to drive away diseases, and the dangerous disease of the falling evil? But the rings hallowed by the holy church may do so: ergo, the water hallowed by the church may do like service.

These were sore arguments in his time, and I trust be also yet; and may be conveniently used, to such as would never make an end of talk, but rake up every thing that their dull sight cannot penetrate, wherein me thought ye spake effectually, when ye said, "Men must receive the determination of the particular church, and obey where God's law repugneth not expressly." And in this effect to drive away devils, that prayer and invocation of the church may do it, scripture maintaineth evidently; and the same scripture doth authorise us so to pray, and encourageth us to it—so as if, in discussion of holy water, we attribute all the effect of the holiness which proceedeth from God by invocation of the church, and take water only for a servant to carry abroad holiness, there can be no superstition, where men regard only prayer, which scripture authoriseth. And if we shall say that the water cannot do such service, we shall be convinced, in that it doth a greater service in our baptism by God's special ordinance—so as we cannot say, that water cannot, or is not apt to do this service; only the stay is, to have a precise place in the New Testament, to say, "Use water thus in this service, as we do in holy water;" which me thinketh needed not, where all is ordered to be well used by us: and when the whole church agreed upon such a use, or any particular church, or the common

minister of it, and by the exorcism ordered for it the thing to be used purged, there can be but slender matter to improve that custom, wherein God is only honoured, and the power of his name set forth; whereunto all things bow and give place, all natural operation set apart and secluded. And when any man hath denied that water may do service, because scripture appointeth it not, that "because" driveth away much of the rest which the church useth, and especially our cramp-rings. For if water may not serve to carry abroad the effects of God's grace, obtained by invocation from God, by the common prayer of the church, how can the metal of silver or gold carry abroad the effect of the king's invocation in the cramp-rings? Which manner of reasoning *ad hominem* Christ used with the Jews, when he said, *Si ego in Beelzebub ejicio dæmonia, filii vestri in quo ejiciunt?* And that by our own principles we should be enforced to say, that our cramp-rings be superstitious (where truth enforceth us not so to do), it were a marvellous punishment. *Si cæci essemus*, as Christ saith, *peccatum non haberemus, sed videmus;* and this realm hath learning in it, and you a good portion thereof; according whereunto I doubt not but you will weigh this matter, *non ad popularem trutinam, sed artificis stateram:* I mean, that artificer which teacheth the church our mother (as ye fully declared it), and ordered our mother to give nourishment unto us. In which point, speaking of the church, although ye touched an unknown church to us, and known to God only, yet you declared the union of that church in the permixt church, which God ordereth men to complain unto and to hear again; wherein the absurdity is taken away of them that would have no church known, but every man believe as he were inwardly taught himself; whereupon followeth the old proverb, Σοὶ μὲν ταῦτα δοκοῦντ' ἐστὶν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τάδε; which is far from the unity ye so earnestly wished for, whereof (as me thought) ye said, "Pride is the let;" as it is undoubtedly. Which fault God amend, and give you grace so to fashion your words, as ye may agree with them in speech, with whom ye be inclined to agree in opinion! For that is the way to relieve the world.

And albeit there hath been between you and me no fa-

miliarity, but, contrariwise, a little disagreement (which I did not hide from you), yet, considering the fervent zeal ye professed to teach Peter's true doctrine, that is to say, Christ's true doctrine, whereunto ye thought the doctrine of images, and holy water to put away devils, agreed not; I have willingly spent this time to communicate unto you my folly (if it be folly) plainly as it is; whereupon ye may have occasion the more substantially, fully, and plainly to open these matters for the relief of such as be fallen from the truth, and confirmation of those that receive and follow it; wherein it hath been ever much commended, to have such regard to histories of credit, and the continual use of the church, rather to shew how a thing continued from the beginning, as holy water and images have done, may be well used, than to follow the light rash eloquence, which is ever *ad manum*, to mock and improve that which is established. And yet again, I come to Marcellus, that made a cross in the water, and bade his deacon cast it abroad *cum fide et zelo;* after which sort if our holy water were used, I doubt not but there be many Marcellus's, and many Eliseus's, and many at whose prayer God forgiveth sin, if such as will enjoy that prayer have faith and zeal, as Equitius, and were as desirous to drive the devil out of the temple of their body and soul, as Equitius out of the temple of Jupiter. So as if holy use were coupled with holy water, there should be more plenty of holiness than there is; but, as men be profane in their living, so they cannot abide to have any thing effectually holy, not so much as bread and water; fearing lest they should take away sin from us, which we love so dearly well. *Solus Christus peccata diluit*, who sprinkleth his blood by his ministers, as he hath taught his spouse the church, in which those ministers be ordered, wherein "many ways maketh not many saviours," as ignorants do jest; whereof I need not speak further unto you, no more I needed not in the rest in respect of you; but, me thought, ye conjured all men in your sermon to say what they thought to you, *Id quod hanc mihi expressit epistolam, quam boni consules; Et vale.*

Your loving friend,

STEPHEN WINCHESTER.

APPENDIX V.

Letter from the Protector Edward, Duke of Somerset, to Dr Ridley.

From Burnet.

After our right hearty commendations to your lordship, we have received your letters of the first of June, again replying to those which we last sent unto you. And as it appeareth, ye, yet remaining in your former request, desire, if things do occur so, that according to your conscience ye cannot do them, that you might absent yourself, or otherwise keep silence. We would be loth any thing should be done by the king's majesty's visitors, otherwise than right and conscience might allow and approve: and visitation is to direct things to the better, not to the worse; to ease consciences, not to clog them. Marry, we would wish that executors thereof should not be scrupulous in conscience, otherwise than reason would. Against your conscience, it is not our will to move you, as we would not gladly do, or move any man to that which is against right and conscience; and we trust the king's majesty hath not in this matter. And we think in this ye do much wrong, and much discredit the other visitors, that ye should seem to think and suppose, that they would do things against conscience. We take them to be men of that honour and honesty, that they will not. My lord of Canterbury hath declared unto us, that this maketh partly a conscience unto you, that divines should be diminished. That can be no cause; for, first, the same was met before in the late king's time, to unite the two colleges together; as we are sure ye have heard, and Sir Edward North can tell: and for that cause, all such as were students of the law, out of the new erected cathedral church, were disappointed of their livings, only reserved to have been in that civil college. The King's hall being in manner all lawyers, canonists were turned and joined to Michael-house, and made a college of divines, wherewith the number of divines was much augmented, civilians diminished. Now at

this present also, if in all other colleges, where lawyers be by the statutes, or the king's injunctions ye do convert them, or the more part of them, to divines, ye shall rather have more divines upon this change than ye had before. The King's college should have six lawyers; Jesus college some; the Queen's college, and other, one or two apiece; and, as we are informed, by the late king's injunctions, every college in Cambridge one at the least: all these together do make a greater in number, than the fellows of Clare-hall be, and they now made divines, and the statutes in that reformed divinity shall not be diminished in number of students, but increased, as appeareth, although these two colleges be so united. And we are sure ye are not ignorant, how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's service therein. For we would the increase of divines, as well as you. Marry, necessity compelleth us also to maintain the science; and we require you, my lord, to have consideration how much you do hinder the king's majesty's proceedings in that visitation: if now you, who are one of the visitors, should thus draw back and discourage the other, ye should much hinder the whole doings; and peradventure that thing known, maketh the master and fellows of Clare-hall to stand the more obstinate; wherefore we require you to have regard of the king's majesty's honour, and the quiet performings of that visitation, most of the glory of God, and benefit of that university; the which thing is only meant in your instructions. To the performing of that, and in that manner, we can be content you use your doings as ye think best, for the quieting of your conscience. Thus we bid you right heartily farewell. From Richmond, the 10th of June, 1549.

Your loving friend,

E. Somerset.

APPENDIX VI.

The King's[1] *Letter to* Nicholas Ridley, *Bishop of London, &c.*

From Burnet.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it is come to our knowledge, that the altars within the most part of the churches of this realm being already upon good and godly considerations taken down, there do yet remain altars standing in divers other churches, by occasion whereof much variance and contention ariseth among sundry of our subjects, which, if good foresight were not had, might perchance engender great hurt and inconvenience; we let you wit, that, minding to have all occasion of contention taken away, which many times groweth by those and such like diversities, and considering that, amongst other things belonging to our royal office and cure, we do account the greatest to be, to maintain the common quiet of our realm; we have thought good, by the advice of our council, to require you, and nevertheless specially to charge and command you, for the avoiding of all matters of further contention and strife about the standing or taking away of the said altars, to give substantial order throughout all your diocese, that with all diligence all the altars in every church or chapel, as well in places exempted as not exempted, within your said diocese, be taken down; and instead thereof a table be set up in some convenient part of the chancel, within every such church or chapel, to serve for the ministration of the blessed communion. And to the intent the same may be done without the offence of such our loving subjects as be not yet so well persuaded in that behalf as we would wish, we send unto you herewith certain considerations gathered and

Altars taken down and destroyed.

Considerations to persuade the people.

[1] Edward VI. Ed.]

collected, that make for the purpose; the which, and such other as you shall think meet to be set forth to persuade the weak to embrace our proceedings in this part, we pray you cause to be declared to the people by some discreet preachers, in such places as you shall think meet, before the taking down of the said altars; so as both the weak consciences of others may be instructed and satisfied as much as may be, and this our pleasure the more quietly executed. For the better doing whereof, we require you to open the aforesaid considerations in that our cathedral church in your own person, if you conveniently may, or otherwise, by your chancellor, or some other grave preacher, both there and in such other market towns, and most notable places of your diocese, as you may think most requisite.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 24th day of November, the fourth year of our reign.

Edward Somerset,
Thomas Cranmer,
William Wiltshire,
John Warwick,
John Bedford,
William North,
Edward Clinton,
H. Wentworth,
Thomas Ely.

NOTES.

Note A.

Scotus in lib. v. sent. dist. 2. quest. 3. (as quoted by Du Plessy, in his "Four books on the Institution, use, and doctrine of the Eucharist," p. 472, Lond. 1660,) says: "Innocent III., a great promoter of this monster, moveth this monstrous and brutish question (lib. iv. c. 19.) 'What eateth the mouse when she gnaweth the Sacrament?' Lombard (lib. iv. dist. 13.) has answered, 'God knoweth.' And notwithstanding towards the end he remarks, 'It may be safely said, that the body of Christ is not taken by beasts.' But the school of Sorbonne hath noted, '*Hic magister non tenetur;*' others follow not the judgment of the Master of the Sentences on this point. John de Burgo (de custod. Euch. c. 10.) very grossly: 'The mouse does take the body of Christ.' Innocent more subtilely: 'The bread passes away miraculously when the body cometh, and the body passeth and getteth itself away when the mouse draweth near, and the bread cometh into his place again'." Du Plessy, p. 470.

Note B.

It may be necessary to observe that the genuineness of the two passages of Saint Chrysostom quoted in this treatise has been suspected. Archbishop Usher (in the preface of his answer to the Jesuit's Challenge) remarks that the words, "in quibus non est verum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur," were wholly omitted in the Antwerp Edition of 1537, the Paris Edition of 1543, and in that of Audoenus Parvus, printed also at Paris in 1557: in the more ancient copies, that for instance of 1487, Usher found the words, and that without any note of suspicion. The Paris Edition of 1536 (apud Claud. Chevallonium) has them, and thus it would appear that the earliest edition which omits the passage in question is that (apud Johan. Steelsium) of Antwerp, anno 1537.

The "Epistola ad Cæsarium Monachum" was first published by Peter Martyr, and immediately declared by his opponents to be a forgery of his own; but Bigotius, who had transcribed it from a MS. in the library of St Mark's Monastery at Florence, and prepared it for the press in his edition of Palladius, asserted and proved to the satisfaction of the learned that it was the work of Chrysostom. The sheets were however cancelled, and the publication of them prohibited.

In the Benedictine Edition, the first volume of which was published by Montfaucon at Paris in 1717, the letter is printed, and a

satisfactory epitome of its history given—the Editors have however, though it would appear on insufficient grounds, decided that it is not genuine. Neither the "Opus Imperfectum," nor the "Epistola ad Cæsarium," are extant in the Greek, save a few fragments of the latter.

Note C.

There were various services of the Roman Church.

Scala Cœli—was an indulgence granted to those who visited certain privileged places, whereby those who resorted to them were promised the same benefits as though they had ascended the holy steps at Rome.

Trentals (Trentale, Fr.) an office for the dead that continued thirty days, or consisted of thirty masses; from the Italian Trenta, i.e. Triginta. Stat. I. Ed. VI. cap. xiv. Jacob's Law Dictionary in voce. London, 1756.

Placebo. An antiphone in the office for the dead. The words are "Placebo Domino in Regione vivorum." Rituale Romanum, Antverp. 1617, p. 157.

Dirige. Another antiphone in the office for the dead. The words are "Dirige Domine Deus meus in conspectu tuo viam meam." Rituale Romanum, Antverp. 1617, p. 172.

Tot. quots. "An abbreviation of 'totiens quotiens,' occurring in Papal Documents and Grants. Thomas Aquinas, as quoted in Serrani "de Septem urbis Romæ ecclesiis," (Coloniæ, 1600,) p. 134, will explain the meaning of this item. "Quicunque vadit ad ecclesiam talem, usque ad tale tempus habeat tantum de indulgentia, intelligitur semel tantum: sed si in aliqua ecclesia sit indulgentia perennis, sicut in Ecclesia B. Petri xl. dierum, tunc *quoties* vadit aliquis, *toties* indulgentiam consequitur." Thom. Aquin. Summa Theol. Supplem. 3 part, quæst. 25. art. 2. sect. ad quæst. Bishop Jewel also mentions tot. quots. amongst a variety of other expedients for raising money." Fox, Acts and Monuments, Ed. 1836, note of the Editor in loco.

Pardons, Purgatory, Pilgrimages, Masses, Immunities, Pluralities, Unions, &c. will require no explanation.

Note D.

The Book Mistress Missa.

This book Fox, who was personally acquainted with Dr Turner, attributes to him; but no work bearing this title is to be found among the lists of his works given by Wood, Bale, or later bibliographers. The book most probably referred to, is one entitled "A New Dialogue wherein is contained the examination of the mass, and of that kind of priesthood which is ordained to say mass, and to offer up for remission of sin the body and blood of Christ again.—London, by John Day, and W. Seres." Turner is spoken of very

contemptuously by Anthony a Wood, but commended by Fox and Bale.

There was a book published anonymously, but which may have been written by Dr Turner, called "a newe dialogue called the endightment agaynste Mother Messe. Imprinted by William Hill and William Seres, 1548."

Note E.

A Mass of the Holy Ghost.

A Mass of the Holy Ghost was a mass sung with great solemnity at the opening of any council, synod, or convocation. Strype (Ecc. Mem. vol. iii. par. i. p. 181) speaks of Mary's first parliament having been thus opened. Dr Wordsworth cites an author of that period who calls it "an unholy mass of the Holy Ghost, rolled up with descant, prick-song, and organs, whereby men's hearts are ravished wholly from God, and from the cogitations of all such things as they ought to pray for." Wordsworth's Ecc. Biog. vol. iii. p. 36.

Note F.

Dr Wordsworth in his Ecclesiastical Biography has the following note on Ridley's attributing the "Bishops' Book" to the Bishop of Winchester:—"I own this statement surprises me; and yet it may well seem presumptuous to call in question the authority of Ridley on a point like the present. The 'Bishops' Book' unquestionably is that whose proper title is 'the Institution of a Christian Man,' &c. (A.D. 1537). Now of this, I confess, I have long been much more inclined to attribute the main authorship to Cranmer, and others of his party, especially perhaps to Fox bishop of Hereford, than to Gardiner; while again, Gardiner no doubt did exert a great and mischievous influence on the preparation and contents of that other book, often styled 'the King's Book,' that is, 'A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christen Man set furth by the Kynges Majesty of Englande,' &c. (A.D. 1543), curious and valuable as that work still undeniably is. I venture to conjecture therefore, that Ridley here inadvertently wrote the 'Bishops' Booke' instead of the 'King's Book:' a conjecture, which probably may be considered well-grounded, when I mention, that in the latter, there *is* 'a sharp reproof' of the Florentine Council, (see p. 205 of a useful volume, *the Formularies of Faith put forth by authority during the reign of Henry VIII.* published at Oxford, A.D. 1825, and superintended by bishop Lloyd, then Regius Professor of Divinity in that university;) while I do not find any such 'reproof' in the other work, the Institution; or indeed any mention of the council at all. Of this book, some account may be found in the present collection in a note to the *Life of Cromwell*, vol. ii. p. 258."

Note G.

The book de vera differentia.

The book here referred to is the treatise by Edward Fox, bishop of Hereford, and Almoner to King Henry VIII. "He was reputed," says Burnet "to be one of the best divines in England." The title of the book is, "de vera differentia Regiæ Potestatis at Ecclesiasticæ, et quæ sit ipsa veritas et virtus utriusque." It was published first in 1534, and another edition appeared in 1538, in which year the bishop died. It was translated into English by Henry Lord Stafford. There was a treatise under the same title published by bishop Gardiner, and one or two more by different authors.

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SUPPLEMENT.

Articles to be inquired of in the visitation of the diocese of London by the Reverend Father in God Nicholas, Bishop of London, in the fourth year of our sovereign Lord King Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and in earth of the Church of England, and also of Ireland, the supreme head, next and immediately under our Saviour Christ[1].

Reprinted from Sparrow's *Collections.*

I charge thee before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge the quick and dead at his appearing in his kingdom, preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine. St Paul 2 Tim. iv. 1, 2.

Whether your curates and ministers be of that conversation of living, that worthily they can be reprehended of no man.

[1 There was nothing else of moment done this year (1550) in relation to the church, save the visitation made of the diocese of London by Ridley, their new bishop. But the exact time of it is not set down in the register. It was, according to King Edward's journal, some time before the 28th of June; for he writes that on that day Sir John Yates, the high sheriff of Essex, was sent down with letters to see the bishop of London's injunctions performed, which touched the plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such like ceremonies and abuses; so that the visitation must have been about the beginning of June. Burnet, Hist. Reform. Vol. II. p. 325, part 2, p. 24. See also Strype, Memor. Vol. II. part 1, p. 355; also Collier, Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 304, and Cardwell's Documentary Annals, Vol. I. p. 77. Ed.]

Whether your curates and ministers do haunt and resort to taverns or alehouses, otherwise than for their honest necessity, there to drink and riot, or to play at unlawful games.

Whether your ministers be common brawlers, sowers of discord rather than charity among their parishioners, hawkers, hunters, or spending their time idly, or coming to their benefice by simony.

Whether your ministers or any other persons have committed adultery, fornication, incest, bawdry, or to be vehemently suspected of the same, common drunkards, scolds, or be common swearers and blasphemers of God's holy name.

Whether your parsons and vicars do maintain their houses and chancels in sufficient reparation: or if their houses be in decay, whether they bestow yearly the fifth part of the fruits of the benefice, until the same be repaired.

Whether your parsons and vicars, absent from their benefice, do leave their cure to an able minister. And if he may dispend yearly £xx., or above, in this deanery or elsewhere, whether he doth distribute every year among his poor parishioners there, at the least, the fortieth part of the fruits of the same. And likewise spending yearly £c., whether he doth find one scholar at either of the Universities, or some grammar school, and so for every other hundred pound one scholar.

Whether every dean, archdeacon, and prebendary, being priest, doth personally, by himself, preach twice every year at the least, either where he is entitled, or where he hath jurisdiction, or in some place united or appropriate to the same.

Whether your minister, having licence thereunto, doth use to preach; or, not licensed, doth diligently procure other to preach that are licensed: or whether he refuseth those offering themselves that are licensed; or absenteth himself, or causeth other to be away from the sermon, or else admitteth any to preach that are not licensed.

Whether any, by preaching, writing, word or deed, hath or doth maintain the usurped power of the bishop of Rome.

[a] a hinderer.

Whether any be a letter[a] of the word of God to be preached or read in the English tongue.

Whether any do preach, declare, or speak anything in derogation of the book of Common Prayer, or anything therein contained, or any part thereof.

Whether any do preach and defend, that private persons may make insurrection, stir sedition, or compel men to give them their goods.

Whether the curate doth admit any to the communion before he be confirmed, or any that ken not the Pater Noster, the Articles of the Faith, and Ten Commandments in English.

Whether curates do minister the communion for money, or use to have trentals of communions.

Whether any of the Anabaptists' sect, or other, use notoriously any unlawful or private conventicles, wherein they do use doctrines or administration of sacraments, separating themselves from the rest of the parish.

Whether there be any that privately, in their private house, have their masses contrary to the form and order of the book of communion.

Whether any minister doth refuse to use the common prayers, or minister sacraments in that order and form as is set forth in the book of common prayer.

Whether baptism be ministered (out of necessity) in any other time than on the Sunday or holy-day, or in another tongue than English.

Whether any speaketh against baptism of infants.

Whether any be married within degrees prohibited by God's law, or separate without cause lawful, or is married without banns thrice first asked three several holy-days or Sundays openly in the church at service time.

Whether any curate doth marry them of other parishes, without their curate's license, and certificate from him of the banns thrice solemnly asked.

Whether any saith, that the wickedness of the minister taketh away the effect of Christ's sacraments.

Whether any saith, that Christian men cannot be allowed to repentance if they sin voluntarily after baptism.

Whether your curates be ready to minister the sacraments, visit the sick, and bury the dead being brought to the church.

Whether any minister useth wilfully and obstinately any other rite, ceremony, order, form, or manner of communion,

matins, or even-song, ministration of sacraments, or open prayers, than is set forth in the book of common prayer.

Whether your curate, once in six weeks at the least, upon some Sunday or holy-day, before even-song, do openly in the church instruct and examine children, not confirmed, in some part of the catechism; and whether parents and masters do send them thither upon warning given by the minister.

[b] abrogated.

Whether any useth to keep abrogate[b] holy-days or private holy-days, as bakers, shoemakers, brewers, smiths, and such other.

Whether any useth to hallow water, bread, salt, bells, or candles upon Candlemas day, ashes on Ash Wednesday, palms on Palm Sunday, the font on Easter-even, fire on Paschal, or whether there was any sepulchre on Good Friday.

Whether the water in the font be changed every month once, and then any other prayers said than is in the book of common prayer appointed.

Whether there be any images in your church, tabernacles, shrines, or coverings of shrines, candles, or trindles of wax, or feigned miracles in your churches or private houses.

Whether your church be kept in due and lawful reparation, and whether there be a comely pulpit set up in the same, and likewise a coffer for alms for the poor, called the poor man's box or chest.

Whether any legacies given to the poor, amending highways, or marrying poor maids, be undistributed, and by whom.

Letter from Bishop Ridley *to* Sir William Cecil.

State Paper Office—Domestic.

Printed in Tytler's Letters illustrative of the Reigns of Edward VI and Mary, Vol. II. *in fine.*

16*th Sept.* 1551.

Grace and health.—Your preface so prettily mingled with sorrow and gladness, and the sorrowful sight that you had of the bottom of your purse, and your poor lame house, hath so affected and filled me with pity and compassion, that al-

though indeed, I grant, I am blamed because by my fashion used towards some I may plainly seem to condemn unlawful beggary, yet you have filled mine affections so full, and have moved me so much, that you have persuaded me to grant unto you half a dozen trees, such as I may spare you, and mine officer shall appoint. I ween they must be pollards; for other, either few or none, God knoweth, I think are left of the late spoil in all my woods.

And, Sir, if you that can move men so mightily to have pity on the decay of one house, if you, I say, knew the miserable spoil that was done in the vacation time, by the King's officers, upon my woods, whereby in time past so many good houses have been builded, and hereafter might have been; also so many lame relieved, so many broken amended, so many fallen down re-edified; forsooth, I do not doubt but you were able to move the whole country to lament and mourn the lamentable case of so pitiful a decay. But, Sir, wot you what I thought, after I had refreshed my spirit with once or twice reading over of your letters? Jesus! thought I, if God had appointed this man to have been the proctor of a spiritual, that can thus move men to have pity upon a lame house; who could have passed by with a penny in his purse, but such a man could have wrung it out with words, although the passenger had been never such a cringe? And thus I wish you ever well to fare. From Fulham this 6th of Sept. 1551.

Yours in Christ,
NIC. LONDON.

Extract of a Letter preserved by Dr Covel, and printed by him in his "Brief Answer to J. Burge's reasons," &c. &c., 1606, p. 69. Also, Strype, Life of Archbishop Grindal. Ed. 1710, pp. 19, 20. Gloucester Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley. Ed. 1763, pp. 593, f. MSS. Emm. Coll. Bibl. Cantab.

Ridley *to* Grindal, *about the Frankfort contests.*

"Alas! that our brother Knox could not bear with our

book of common prayer! matters against which although, I grant, a man, as he is, of wit and learning may find to make apparent [meaning plausible[1]] reasons; but I suppose he cannot be able soundly to disprove by God's word.

The reason he maketh against the Litany and the fault "*per sanguinem et sudorem*" [*sanguineum sudorem*] he findeth in the same, I do marvel how he can or dare avouch them before the Englishmen that be with you.

As for private baptism, it is not prescribed in the book; but where solemn baptism, for lack of time and danger of death, cannot be had, what would he in that case should be done? Peradventure he will say, it is better then to let them die without baptism. Sir, for this his 'better' what word hath he of the scripture? and if he hath none, why will he not rather follow that that the sentences of the old ancient writers do more allow, from whom to dissent without a warrant of God's word I cannot think it any godly wisdom? And as for the purification of women, I ween the word *purification* is changed, and it is called thanksgiving, [but the book is taken from us, and now I do not perfectly remember the thing; but this I am sure of, the matter there said all tendeth to give God thanks, and to none other end]. Surely Mr Knox, in my mind, is a man of much good learning and of an earnest zeal: the Lord grant him to use them only to his glory!

[Where ye say, ye were by your magistrates required gently to omit such things in your book as might offend their people, not as things unlawful, but to their people offensive, and so ye have done, as to the having of surplice and kneeling; truly in that, I cannot judge, but that both ye and the magistrates have done right well; for I suppose in things indifferent, and not commanded or forbidden by God's word, and wherein the customs of divers countries be diverse, the man of God, that hath knowledge, will [not?] stick to forbear the custom of his own country, being there where the people therewith will be offended; and, surely, if I might have done so much with

[1 These words are probably a gloss of Dr Covel's, but they are preserved both by Strype and Gloucester Ridley.]

our magistrates, I would have required Mr Alasco[2] to have done no less when he was with us.]

Letter from Bishop Ridley *to* Sir William Cecil.

Gloucester Ridley, p. 377.
Ed. 1763.

Good Mr Cecil, I must be a suitor unto you in our good master Christ's cause; I beseech you be good to him. The matter is, Sir, alas! he hath lain too long abroad, as you do know, without lodging, in the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold. Now, thanks be to Almighty God, the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, clothing, and firing: but alas! Sir, they lack lodging for him. For in some one house, I dare say, they are fain to lodge three families under one roof. Sir, there is a wide, large, empty house of the king's majesty's, called Bridewell[3], that would wonderfully well serve to lodge Christ in, if he might find such good friends in the court to procure in his cause. Surely, I have such a good opinion of the king's majesty, that if Christ had such faithful and hearty friends, who would heartily speak for him, he should undoubtedly speed at the king's majesty's hands. Sir, I have promised my brethren, the citizens, to move you, because I do take you for one that feareth God, and would that Christ should lie no more abroad in the streets[4].

[2] Alasco, or John à Lasco, an eminent Polish reformer, who was placed at the head of all the foreign reformed congregations in England. Ed.]

[3] See Biographical Notice, p. xiii. Ed.]

[4] Gloucester Ridley does not state whether he possessed the original of this letter, nor does he mention whether he gives the whole or a part only; but as it appears that Bishop Ridley wrote about the same time to Sir John Gate, urging the same request, and sent instructions by the bearer of his letter to Cecil to confer further with him on the subject, there would seem reason to believe the above letter to be entire, and wanting only the signature. The letter to Sir John Gate is unfortunately lost. Ed.]

Farewell.

Passage to be inserted p. 408, line 6. MS. Emm. Coll. Bibl. Cantab.

Farewell, Shoame [Soham] Vicarage, my cure for a little time, and yet, as I acknowledge, that little was too long, both for that after my receipt of the benefice I did not, nor indeed could abide in thee, and also for that he[1] whom the college and I placed in thee after my giving over, now, as I hear say, doth yield to the trade of the world, contrary to his conferences had with me before, and to his own handwriting and subscription unto the Articles of religion in matters of controversy.

[1 The living of Soham was occupied by Ridley from A.D. 1547 to A.D. 1552. The advowson was presented to Pembroke College by Henry VI. A.D. 1451, but some difficulties arose as to the legality of the conveyance, and the bishop of Norwich claimed the advowson. In 1502 the Master and Fellows presented Oliver Coren, Coryne or Curwen, a Fellow of Pembroke College. In January 1528 Richard Gauston, not a Fellow, was presented, and it does not appear by whom; exchanging with Coren the living of Stoke Charity. On Nov. 4, 1541, the College appointed trustees to make the next presentation in their behalf. But in 1542 the bishop of Norwich (in whose diocese Soham was) interfered, and granted the next presentation to Myles Spenser, LL.D. In 1547 the living fell vacant, and the presentation was claimed by Pembroke College for Ridley, then Master, and by the bishop of Norwich for Dr Spenser. Ridley appeared forthwith as plaintiff v. the bishop of Norwich and Spenser, in the Court of King's Bench, in a case of "Quare impedit," and in Easter Term, 1 Edward VI., judgment was given in Ridley's favour. He was himself at once presented by the trustees before alluded to, and instituted on the 17th of May, 1547.

Richard Hebb, Fellow of Pembroke College, succeeded Ridley, and was instituted on the 5th of September, 1552. Ed.]

Two Latin Letters[2] *immediately preceding* RIDLEY'S *to* BRADFORD, *Letters XIV. and XXXI. of this edition; but without the name of the writer or the person to whom sent.*

MS. II. ii. 15. Emm. Coll. Biblioth.

No. I.

QUID tu, carissime frater, ex musca elephantem facere conaris? Mitte, pr[ecor][3], istas; istiusmodi enim scribendo certe tu mihi os obstruis, ne vel tuam erga me et fratrem meum bonitatem agnoscere libere audeam, vel tibi gratias agere, ne vide[licet] videri possim aut tuo errore delinitus agnoscere quæ scribas, aut tibi imposterum amplius errandi occasionem qualemcunque præbere. Omissis igitur omnibus istiusmodi secularibus oblectamentis, laboremus sedulo, frater, unusquisque pro sua virili, decertant[es] fidem adjuvare. Ingentes Deo habeo gratias per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, qui istud animo suggessit tuo, ut quod ego jamdudum a Deo mi dari obnixe precarer, ipse jam tua sponte mihi ultro offeras. imo a me vehementiss[ima] oratione efflagitas, hoc est, transcribendi operam meas qualescunque lucubratiuncula in negotio nostræ Christianæ fidei tuendæ, rogasque uti tibi eas

[2] These two letters are attributed to Ridley, though bearing neither the name of the writer nor of the person to whom sent, first on account of the internal evidence contained in the former of the two, and secondly on account of their position in the Emmanuel MSS. It appears probable that they were one or both addressed to Bradford. The former alludes to the rumoured treachery of Grimbold, a rumour which proved but too true. It mentions the annotations on Watson's two sermons, which are known to have been the work of Ridley; and it seems likely that one of the "duo tractatus" referred to in a previous paragraph was the lost and deeply to be regretted treatise on Predestination and Election. If this conjecture be correct, then it is quite certain that the former of the two letters was addressed to Bradford; and a strong ground of probability will be laid for attributing the latter also either to Ridley as the writer, and to Bradford as the person addressed, or to Bradford as the writer, and to Ridley as the person addressed. ED.]

[3] In these two letters the parts inclosed in brackets are supplied from conjecture, the gaps in the original generally occurring at the end of lines, where the edge of the paper has been rubbed or torn.—The words printed in Italics are doubtful in the MS. ED.]

communicare velim; atque in quo mihi vehementer gratificaris, in eo dicis me te mihi arctiore vinculo astricturum. Ergo, frater, ego libenter tibi communicabo quæcunque habeo; habeo autem nonnulla, quædam vero Latine, quædam autem Anglice scripta, omnia autem ad tuendam sinceritatem nostræ Christianæ religionis, quam Satan modo tam multis et validissimis modis conatur funditus subvertere et profligare. Mitto tibi hic duos tractatus Anglice scriptos, alterum in libello ligato, alterum vero in schedis aliquot nondum collig[atis]: in legendo autem aut transcribendo libello ligato ne scriptor erret, scias exordium illius tractatus haberi fo. 44, et quæ præcedunt annotata *ex aug^o dño reponi ... in suo loco proxime p^t lyīe 2^a/*

Mitto etiam hic tibi alteram exhortatoriam epistolam scriptam Latine ad fratres qui Christum cum cruce amplectuntur. Denique mitto etiam tibi illos duos sermones quos in aula Watsonus habuit coram Regina anno superiori in quadragesima; in quibus vehementer laborasse videtur, (ut est vir acris ingenii,) fraudem facere simplicioribus, et imperitioribus (ne veritatem agnoscerent, imo ut pro luce tenebras, pro veritate errorem amplecterentur) verba dare: mitto namque tibi illos cum meis annotationibus, sed non absque Theseo; id quod tibi inter legendum facile, scio, constare poterit.

Nunc, frater, quum ista qualiacunque non sine aliquo labore in hunc modum collegi atque in ordinem redegi, uti mihi (et si quibus aliis commodare possim) usui esse possint; quam vero cito ego eis indigebo, incertum habeo; precor itaque ut quam primum commode possis (si exscribere placet) transcribas, et mihi mea remittas exemplaria, et tunc reliqua quæ adhuc apud me sunt (si ea vel legendi vel transcribendi animus tibi insederit) habebis. Si auderem aliquid fratri meo committere, qui nunc solus, ut opinor, longos dies ducit in carcere, libenter optarem ut ille aliquid transcriberet. Sed valde timeo ne incautum denuo opprimerent, atque inde in illum amplius sæviendi occasionem arriperent. Precor ut illum jubeas esse forti animo; nihil enim est prorsus quod vereatur. Si enim verus est rumor quem de Grimbaldo jam spargunt, * * Grimbaldi causa multum doleo; ceterum ad fratris mei causam, scio, ne tantillum quidem pertinet.

Bene vale, frater in Domino carissime.

No. II.

Quod tam diu apud te tacuerim, in causa erat mei hujus, quem nunc ad te mitto, partus diffusior labor. *Et quanquam* parturivi jam diu, nihilominus nunc edo (furor!) profecto rude quiddam ac informe et multa politura indigum. Ceterum quia novi te meorum laborum (quibus, Deus mi testis est, quam plurimis prodesse et nemini nocere cupio) minime contemptorem esse, ideo statui, quicquid est et qualecunque sit, ad te mittere. Tu jam totum illud pernoscas ac introspicias licet; et si transcribere placet, et id *tibi* licebit quoque. Non tamen nunc mittam omnia quæ huic tractatui apponere decrevi; verum quia nondum adsunt omnia scripturæ loca, quibus hunc meum tractatum tanquam munimento et vallo corrob[or]are constitui, pro mei animi summa collegi. Postquam illud absolverim, tunc relegam quod scripsisti prius, et tuum tibi librum remittam.

De libello cujus mi legendi copiam fecisti, in quo duo tam *dissidentes* scriptores inter sese collati sunt, scias me cum ingenio ac eloquentia ejus qui scripsit multum delectari, tum hoc vero mi maxime placere, quod scriptorem illius libelli intelligam esse veræ pietatis studiosum, et sinceritati verbi Dei ex animo favere; quem precor Deus animum illi exaugeat atque confirmet in æternum. Bene vale, frater in Domino carissime.

Tractatus nostri indicem invenies ad finem adjectum, fo. 47, et ex ejus lectione facile videbis summam totius tractatus et rerum omnium quæ in eo tractantur.

Translation of the foregoing two Letters.

No. I.

Why do you try, my dearest brother, to make an elephant of a fly? No more, I pray you, of such [folly]. By writing in this manner you at once stop my mouth, so that I can neither dare to acknowledge frankly your kindness to me

and my brother, nor to thank you, lest forsooth I should seem to acquiesce in the truth of what you write, being cajoled by your mistaken compliment, or afford you an opportunity of making the same mistake hereafter.

Laying aside therefore all worldly flatteries of this nature, let us, my brother, labour diligently to contend, each one to the best of his power, to uphold the faith. Very great thanks do I render to God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath suggested this thing to your mind, that what I have long been praying to God and earnestly that it might be given me, you yourself willingly and of your own accord offer me —nay, do with a most vehement entreaty demand of me; that is, the opportunity of your transcribing whatsoever little works there are of mine, undertaken with a view to defend our christian faith; and you ask me to communicate them to you, and [thus] by the very circumstance which is most gratifying to myself you declare that you will be bound to me by a closer tie. Therefore, my brother, I willingly forward to you whatsoever I have; and a few I do possess, some written in Latin, and some in English, but all for the purpose of defending the purity of our christian religion, which Satan is now attempting with so numerous and powerful means altogether to subvert and put to the rout.

I here send you two treatises written in English, one in a bound book, and the other in sheets not yet bound together; but in reading or transcribing from the bound book, lest your amanuensis should make any mistake, know that the introduction to that treatise is contained in 44 pages, and the annotations which precede, "*ex aug° dño reponi*" . . . . "*in suo loco proxime p' lyie* 2^{n}/."

I send you here also another exhortatory epistle, written in Latin to those brethren who have embraced Christ with his cross. Lastly, I send you also those two sermons which Watson last year delivered at court before the Queen during Lent; in which he appears very diligently to have laboured (as he is a man of acute parts) to impose upon the simple-minded, and to delude the unwary, that they might not acknowledge the truth, but rather embrace darkness for light and error for truth. These however I send you with my annotations, but

not without a clue, which I know will be very evident to you when you read them.

And now, my brother, since I have thus, not without some labour, collected and reduced to order these writings such as they are, I pray you, to the end that they may be useful to me, and should I wish to lend them to others, to them also, (for it is uncertain how soon I shall have need of them,) that you will, if you wish to transcribe them, do so at your earliest convenience, and send me back my copies of them; and then you shall have whatever remaining writings I have, should you desire either to read or to transcribe them.

If I dared to send anything to my brother, who is now I think dragging out a wearisome existence in solitary confinement, I would indeed desire that he too should transcribe somewhat; but I greatly fear lest they should again surprise him in some incautious moment, and thence take occasion to exercise still greater severities upon him. I pray you, bid him be of good courage, for there is nothing whatever for him to fear. If the rumour which they are now circulating concerning Grimbald be true, I grieve much for Grimbald's sake: for the rest, I know that it matters not one jot to the cause of my brother.

Farewell, my most dear brother in the Lord.

No. II.

That I have so long kept silence towards you, has been caused by the somewhat diffuse labour of this my production which I now send you. Although I have been a long time in travail, nevertheless I now bring forth (alas, the folly!) a rough and shapeless lump which needs much polishing. Yet because I know you to be by no means a despiser of my labours, (by which I desire, God is my witness, to benefit as many as possible and to hurt no one,) I have therefore determined to send it you, whatever it is and of whatever sort it may turn out to be.

You may now inspect and judge of the whole, and if you like to transcribe anything, that also you can do. Yet I do not now send all which I have determined to add to this

treatise; but because there are not yet [incorporated] with it all those passages of scripture, with which as with a wall and trench I intend to fortify this my treatise, I have collected them to the best of my ability. After I have accomplished my intention, then I will read over again what you have previously written, and will send you back your book.

As to the book which you have given me an opportunity of reading, in which two such different writers are compared one with another, know that as I am much delighted with the genius and eloquence of the writer, so am I especially pleased with this, that I perceive the writer of that book to be a promoter of true piety and a favourer of the purity of God's word; which mind I pray God may increase and confirm in him for ever.

Farewell, most dear brother in Christ.

You will find the index of my treatise appended to the conclusion, (fol. 47,) and from its perusal you will easily see the sum of the whole treatise, and of all the matters which are discussed in it.

Note on the TREATISE ON IMAGE WORSHIP. p. 31.

[This treatise is ascribed to Ridley by Foxe, who published it as such in the "Acts and Monuments;" but there appears reason to believe that the treatise is identically the same with one referred to by Collier, (Eccles. Hist. Vol. II. p. 464,) addressed by certain bishops to Elizabeth. Whether Foxe was misled in attributing the treatise to Ridley at all, or whether it was after having been presented to Edward VI. again presented to Elizabeth, by those who thought her likely to "*strain them further*" in that direction, it is perhaps at this distance of time impossible to decide. The first conjecture is however the more probable. ED.]

Note to "VARIATIONS OF STEPHEN GARDINER." p. 307.

[The collection of variations in the works of Stephen Gardiner is by Foxe published as Ridley's, but it appears to have been more probably compiled by Cranmer. In the edition of Cranmer's Answer to Gardiner, published in 1580, it is thus described in the title-page: "In the end is added certain notes, wherein Gardiner varyeth both from himself and other papists gathered by the said Archbishop." Cranmer in his Answer to Gardiner (Jenkyn's edition, Vol. III. p. 221) mentions some of the last-named prelate's sophistries, saying, "*which here for shortness of time I will omit at this present, purposing to speak of them more hereafter:*" he might by this expression signify his design to make some such collection as this present one. ED.]

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